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THE WRITINGS OF BERNARD MANDEVILLE:
A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SURVEY

Mandeville was one of the great connecting conduits between French and English thought—spreading the provocative philosophy of Pierre Bayle in England and conveying English speculation into France, chiefly by way of Voltaire. He was one of the most important figures in the development of eighteenth-century utilitarianism. And he was a main source of the economic doctrines that were to find their best-known spokesman in Adam Smith.¹ Nevertheless, little attention has been paid to any work of Mandeville's besides the *Fable of the Bees*. Thus far, no scholarly survey has been made of Mandeville's writings except Paul Sakmann's *Bernard de Mandeville und die Bienenfabel—Controverse* (Freiburg, Leipzig, and Tübingen, 1897). Sakmann, however, is not only incomplete in his listing of works which may be by Mandeville and of the various editions of listed works, but he is inconclusive in his attempts to determine the questions concerning Mandeville's authorship of disputed works.

This article, which endeavors to supply the critical survey hitherto lacking, divides the writings considered into three groups. The first contains those works demonstrably by Mandeville. The second is composed of works probably or possibly by Mandeville. The third considers writings which have been erroneously ascribed to Mandeville. In the first two sections full description is given of the first editions of each work;^{1a} the other editions are listed; and the question of attribution to Mandeville is argued wherever this is necessary. In addition, I have furnished an analysis of the content of each work, this being made in such a manner as to throw some light on the development of Mandeville's thought and to

¹ I have considered the international influence of Mandeville in the spheres of ethics and economics in my forthcoming edition of his *Fable of the Bees* (Clarendon Press). I have found evidence of an influence so far-reaching and fundamental that I am not, I believe, exaggerating in describing Mandeville as one of the most important writers of the century, whose influence is to be compared with that of Hume and Adam Smith.

^{1a} In copying title-pages I have kept the capitalization of initial letters wherever it was definitely indicated. Where it was not thus indicated I have capitalized all nouns and adjectives, and these only.

reveal the relationship of the various works with Mandeville's most important book, the *Fable of the Bees*. The treatment of the group of works erroneously attributed to Mandeville is limited to the demonstration that he was not their author. Within each group the arrangement is chronological.

I

AUTHENTIC WORKS

Bernardi à Mandeville / de / Medicina / Oratio / Scholastica, / publicè habita, cum è scholâ Erasmianâ ad / Academiam promoveretur, / Octob. cIo Ioc I.xxxv. / Rotterodami, / Typis Regneri Leers, / M DC LXXXV. /

4°, apparently signed in eights. *Collation*: title, p. [1]; blank, p. [2]; text, pp. 3(A2)-16.

This oration, his earliest extant work, was pronounced on leaving school for Leyden University in 1685. It is written in Ciceronian Latin, and is quite a respectable performance for a boy not yet fifteen. A foreshadowing of his coming pyrrhonism is to be found (p. 4) in his 'Aliis alia placent, mihi medicinæ studium . . .'

Disputatio Philosophica / de / Brutorum Operationibus. / Quam / Annuente Summo Numine, / sub Præsidio / Clarissimi, Acutissimique Viri / D. Burcheri de Volder, Medicinæ / & Philosophiæ Doctoris, hujusque, ut & Ma- / theseos in Illustri Academia Lugd.-/Batav. Professoris Ordinarii. / Publice defendendam assumit / Bernardus de Mandeville, Rotter.-Bat. / Ad diem 23 Mart. loco horisque solitis, ante meridiem. / Lugduni Batavorum, / Apud Abrahamum Elzevier, / Academiae Typograph. M D C LXXXIX. /

4°, apparently signed in eights. *Collation*: title, p. [1]; dedication, p. [2]; text, pp. [3(A2)-12].

This dissertation, delivered at Leyden University in 1689, defends the Cartesian tenet that animals are feelingless automata: 'Bruta non sentiunt.' Mandeville reviews the arguments that seem to point to the possession of intelligence by animals, the chief being the similarity between the actions of beasts and those of men. To explode this argument he considers the case of a bee-hive. If, he says, we looked at the life of this hive as those do who credit animals with intelligence because of the ingenuity of their actions, we should have to allow the race of bees a knowledge of everything from geometry to statecraft—which, he maintains, is a *reductio ad absurdum*. His other argument that animals are automata is also a *reductio ad absurdum*. If animals are to be credited with free-will

and intelligence, he argues, why then they must have an immortal soul—which is out of the question. This argument renders it easy to see how it was that Mandeville could later abandon the Cartesian hypothesis (see *Fable of the Bees*, I, 197).² When he came to consider the soul of man as not of overwhelming importance,³ the difference between men and beasts disappeared, and the animal automata became endowed with feeling, while the feeling men became automata (cf. *Fable*, II, 147).

Disputatio Medica / Inauguralis / de / Chylosi Vitiata. / Quam / Annuente Divina Gratia / Ex Auctoritate Magnifici Rectoris, / D. Wolferdi Senguerdij, L. A. M. / Phil. & J. U. Doct. illiusque in Illustri Academia / Lugd.-Bat. Profess. ordinarii, celeberrimi, &c. / Necnon / Amplissimi Senatûs Academici Consensu & Almæ / Facultatis Medicæ Decreto, / pro Gradu Doctoratus, / Summisque in Medicina Honoribus ac Privilegiis / ritè & legitimè consequendis, / Publico examini subijcit / Bernardus de Mandeville, Rotter.-Bat. / Ad diem 30 Mart. horâ locoque solitis. / Lugduni Batavorum, / Apud Abrahamum Elzevier, / Academiae Typograph. M D C XCI. /

4°, apparently signed in eights. *Collation*; title, p. [1]; dedication, p. [2]; text, pp. [3(A2)–12].

Of this dissertation, rendered on the occasion of taking the degree of Doctor of Medicine, Mandeville later said:⁴

[My thesis] was *de Chylosi vitiatâ* [translated in a note as '*of a depraved Chylification*'], which I defended at *Leyden* in the year 1691, Dr. *William Senguerdus*, Professor of the *Aristotelian* Philosophy, being then *Rector Magnificus* [translated in a note as '*The Head of the University for one Year*']. My reason of telling you this, which otherwise might seem impertinent, is because I have often thought it very remarkable, that I always had a particular Eye upon, and have been led, as it were, by Instinct to what afterwards to me appear'd to be the Cause of the Hysterick and Hypochondriack Passions, even at a time, when I had no thought of singling out these Distempers for my more particular Study, and was only design'd for general Practice, as other Physicians are.

In this thesis, Mandeville maintains that the principle of digestion is fermentation rather than warmth; and he considers various derangements of the digestion, offering remedies

² The references to the *Fable* in this article apply to the similarly-paginated editions of 1723, 1724, 1725, 1728, and 1732 of Part I, and to the editions of 1729 and 1733 of Part II.

³ Cf., for instance, his *Treatise* (1730), p. 159, where he doubts the immortality of the soul.

⁴ *Treatise* (1730), p. 132. Of these theses in general, Mandeville wrote (*Treatise*, p. 131): 'They are Printed; and being neatly Stitch'd in Covers of Marble-Paper, distributed among the Scholars.'

in the shape of definite prescriptions. He argues, incidentally, that what people naturally like is usually good for them, a theory characteristic not only of his later medical practice (see *Treatise*, ed. 1730, pp. 240-1), but of his whole attitude toward life.

Some / Fables / after / The easie and Familiar / Method of Monsieur de la / Fontaine. / London: / Printed in the Year 1703. / [On the title-page is printed in addition]: There is newly Published the Comical History / of Francion.

4°. *Collation*: title, p. [i]; blank, p. [ii]; preface, pp. [iii(A2)-vii]; blank, p. [viii]; text, pp. 1 (B)-81(M); advertisement, pp. [82(Mv)-84].⁵

In 1703, this, his first known English work, appeared anonymously. It is known to be by Mandeville because of the identity of the fables in this volume with those published at another time under Mandeville's name (in *Æsop Dress'd*). The preface is a whimsical disquisition on the custom of preface-writing. 'It is hard I should be compelled to talk to my Reader, whether I have anything to say to him or not.' And he adds, 'All my Business with you, is, to let you know, that I have writ some Fables in Verse, after the Familiar Way of a Great Man in France, *Monsieur de la Fontaine*. . . . Two of the Fables are on my own Invention; but I'm so far from loving 'em the better, that I think they are the worst in the Pack: And therefore in good Manners to my self I conceal their Names.' Dr. Sakmann⁶ has judged that these original fables are *The Countryman and the Knight* (*Some Fables*, pp. 1-6) and *The Carp* (pp. 24-26). As a matter of fact, however, Dr. Sakmann is correct only as to the latter. *The Countryman and the Knight* is a rendering of La Fontaine's *Le Jardinier et son Seigneur*.⁷ The second original fable is really *The Nightingale and Owl* (pp. 27-34).

⁵ According to the advertisement on the last page, the book was published by Richard Wellington, at the Dolphin and Crown, at the West-End of St. Paul's Church-Yard.

⁶ Sakmann, *Bernard de Mandeville und die Bienenfabel-Controverse* (1897), p. 12.

⁷ La Fontaine, *Oeuvres Complètes*, (1863-87), I, 116-8.

The verse of these fables is Hudibrastic:

Before the Reign of Buxom *Dido*,
When beasts could speak as well, as I do (p. 46).

Says he, the Scoundrels are alive,
I hear 'em stir, and must contrive
To draw 'em out; for, where they dwell,
I'm sure, they're uncomatable (p. 69).

These fables have none of the conciseness and delicacy of La Fontaine, but they show, nevertheless, narrative power. They are not mere paraphrases, but reflect the temper of the translator somewhat as if they were original work. And, indeed, many of the details are quite original.

Æsop Dress'd; or a / Collection / of / Fables / Writ in Familiar Verse. /
By B. Mandeville, M. D. / London: / Sold at Lock's Head adjoining to
Ludgate. / Price one Shilling. / [N. D.]

8°, signed in fours. *Collation*: title, p. [i]; blank, p. [iii]; preface, pp. [iii
(A2)–iv(A2v)]; text, pp. 1(B)–75; *Index*, p. [76].

This is identical with the preceding work, except for the substitution of an index for the advertisement; and the addition of ten new fables: *The Two Dragons. A Fable; The Wolf and Dog; The Frog; The Pumpkin and Acorn; The Hands, Feet, and Belly* (these occupying pages 1–10; the fables of the 1703 edition then following in a lump); *The Two Physicians; Love and Folly; A She-Goat, a Sheep and a Sow; The Dog and the Ass; The Fox and Wolf* (these last five occupying from p. 66 to the end). All these additional fables have analogues in La Fontaine; there is no reason to assume that the *Æsop* in the heading was more than an attempt to achieve a catchy title.⁸

I believe the book just described to be the second edition, and have described it rather than the first because I have been unable personally to inspect the edition I consider prior.⁹ The date of the first edition was 1704.

⁸ There was at the time quite a fad for this sort of title, and Mandeville's may have been suggested by one of the following: *Æsop Naturaliz'd; and Expos'd to the Publick View in his own Shape and Dress*, 1697 (second edition in 1702), and *Æsop Unveil'd*, c. 1700.

⁹ A photograph shows the title-page of the 1704 edition to read:

Æsop Dress'd / or a / Collection / of / Fables / Writ in Familiar Verse. / By B. Mandeville, M. D. / London: / Printed for Richard

These two little sets of fables, Mandeville states,¹⁰ did not sell well.

Typhon: / or the / Wars / Between the / Gods and Giants: / A Burlesque / Poem / In Imitation of the Comical / Mons. Scarron. / London: / Printed for J. Pero, at the Swan, and S. Illidge, / at the Rose and Crown in Little-Britain, and / Sold by J. Nutt near Stationers-Hall. 1704. / Price One Shilling. /

4°. *Collation*: title, p. [i]; blank, p. [ii]; dedication, p. [iii (A2)-vi]; preface, pp. [vii-viii], text, pp. 1 (B)-47; *Errata*, p. 47.

This was first advertised on Apr. 15, 1704, in the *Daily Courant*. On Nov. 4, it was readvertised in that paper. There may, therefore, have been two issues. The poem is a very free translation of the first canto of Scarron's famous burlesque, *Le Typhon, ou la Gigantomachie*. It is introduced by a dedication to 'the Numerous Society of F—ls in London and Westminster,' signed 'B. M.,' and a preface.

Sakmann (*Bernard de Mandeville*, p. 12) has merely found it very probable that this work is by Mandeville. It is, however, certainly Mandeville's. What renders this positive is the following paragraph from the preface:

I Presented you some time ago with a Dish of Fables; but Wel—ton says. They went down with you like chopt Hay: Raw, I'm sure, they were

Wellington at the Dol- / phin and Crown at the West-End of / St. Paul's Church-Yard. 1704. /

My belief that this is the first edition is based on a description kindly furnished me by Mr. Alfred de Burgh, Assistant Librarian of the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. The signatures as well as the page numbers of the book run irregularly. The pagination is regular to p. 16 (A to C4), but at this point the numbering begins again at 3 and the signatures at B2. A comparison of the edition with the 1703 volume (published by the same printer, Wellington) shows the 1704 booklet to be a compound of sheets from the 1703 printing with new sheets. The preface (A to A4) belongs to the 1703 printing; pages 1 to 16 (B to C4) are new; pages 3 to 80 (B2 to L4) are from 1703; and from then on (M to N) the pages are a new printing. Now, either all three editions (those of 1703, 1704, and n.d.) are by Wellington, or the undated edition is by a different publisher. If all are by Wellington, the undated edition must be the latest, for it is hardly conceivable that Wellington would have pieced together the mongrel edition of 1704 after he had struck off a normal edition (the undated edition being quite regular in makeup). And, if the undated edition is by a different publisher, then too it must be later, for then it must have been taken from the 1704 edition, as Wellington, who issued the 1704 edition, was Mandeville's publisher (see *Typhon*, preface) and would have printed from the manuscript.

¹⁰ See *Typhon*, preface.

very good Meat; and either I have been the Devil of a Cook to 'em, or else your Mouth was out of Taste: if I spoyl'd them in the Dressing, I ask my French Caterer's pardon; if not, I know who ought to beg mine. I told you then, that if you did not like them, you should be troubled with no more of 'em, and I have been as good as my word

Now, when, in addition to the signature 'B.M.,' it is remembered that both the 1703 and 1704 editions of Mandeville's *Fables* were published by the very Richard Wellington mentioned, that in these same *Fables*, Mandeville had just played cook to a 'French Caterer'—La Fontaine—and that the identical promise, cited above, not to issue more fables if those already published were not successful closes the preface to Mandeville's *Fables*, and in exactly the same words,¹¹ it becomes certain that Mandeville's *Fables* must have been the ones referred to as his own by the translator of *Typhon*, who must, therefore, have been Mandeville.

The / Grumbling Hive: / or, / Knaves / Turn'd / Honest. / London: / Printed for Sam. Ballard, at the Blue-Ball, in Little-Britain: / And Sold by A. Baldwin, in Warwick-Lane. 1705./

4°. Collation: title, p. [i]; blank, p. [ii]; text, pp. 1-26.

This small six-penny¹² quarto appeared anonymously on Apr. 2, 1705.¹³ The same year the piece was pirated in a four-paged pamphlet. The only other separate printing of the poem was at Boston in 1811.

This is the allegorical verse fable which was to form the nucleus of the *Fable of the Bees*. Under the simile of a bee-hive Mandeville describes a flourishing state, whose prosperity is matched by the viciousness of its members. These members, adding hypocrisy to their other vices, pray the gods for virtue. Unexpectedly, Jove grants their wish; and the inhabitants find the prosperity of their state gone with its vices—its now vanished industry, art, and science having been called into being chiefly to supply the selfish and extravagant wants which have disappeared with the coming of virtue.

The / Virgin / Unmask'd: / or, / Female Dialogues / Betwixt an Elderly / Maiden Lady, / and her / Niece, / On several / Diverting Discourses / on / Love, / Marriage, / Memoirs, / and / Morals, &c. / of the /

¹¹ In the *Fables*, Mandeville says, 'If any like these Trifles, perhaps I may go on; if not, you shall be troubled with no more of 'em.'

¹² The price is given in *Fable*, I, ii.

¹³ It was advertised in *The Daily Courant* for that date as 'This Day is publish'd.'

Times. / London: Printed, and are to be Sold by / J. Morphew, near Stationers-Hall. J. Woodward / in Thread-needle-street. 1709./

8°. *Collation*: half-title, p. [i]; blank, p. [ii]; title, p. [iii]; blank, p. [iv]; preface, pp. [v(A3)–xiv]; table of contents, pp. [xv–xxxi]; *Errata*, p. [xxxii]; dialogues, pp. 1(B)–214.

In 1714, according to the 'Catalogue of the Valuable Library of the Late George Edmund Benbow, sold at Auction by Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge. . . Friday, the 1st November, 1889,' this same work appeared under the title of *Mysteries of Virginity*. This must have been the work advertised in *The Post Boy* for Nov. 21–4, 1713, as 'This Day is publish'd,' under the title of 'The Mysteries of Virginity: Or, a full Discovery of the Difference between young Maids and old Ones. Set forth in several Diverting Dialogues of the Female Sex. On Love and Gallantry, Marriage and single Life, Dress and Behaviour, Bachelors and Husbands, Beauty and Courtship, Plays and Musick. With many other curious Subjects relating to young Women not enter'd into the State of Matrimony. Sold by J. Morphew near Stationers-Hall.' A 'Second Edition,' by G. Strahan, W. Mears, and J. Stagg, appeared in 1724 with Mandeville's name on the title-page. Other editions appeared in 1731¹⁴ (printed and sold by A. Bettesworth and C. Hitch), in 1742 (by J. Cooper), and in 1757 (by J. Wren).

The preface takes the form of a protest at having to write a preface, and an amusing analysis of the hypocrisies of preface-writing in general, somewhat like the foreword to the *Fables*, but more elaborate. Then follow ten dialogues between the misanthropic Lucinda and her full-blooded niece, Antonia, which have for main subject love and marriage, but touch on everything from art and economics to the abilities of Louis XIV. The thought in many ways forecasts *The Fable of the Bees*. There is the same keenness at scenting out the hidden motives of people, the same reduction of all to selfishness (though this is not promulgated into a philosophy), the same skepticism as to the existence of universal criteria of conduct. And there is a forecast of the dual standard which was to underlie the main paradox of the *Fable of the Bees*, that private vices are public benefits—a dual standard accord-

¹⁴ In 1732 an edition was advertised in the *Grub-street Journal*, May 18, 1732, as 'printed for, and sold by J. Brotherton.' Whether this is the same edition taken over by Brotherton, or a new edition, I do not know.

ing to which the merit of an action was judged both by its effect on the general welfare and by the personal motive which caused the action, thus allowing the same act to be at once a public benefit from the former point of view and a private vice from the latter. The *Virgin Unmask'd* furnishes an antecedent to this in such a sentence as (ed. 1724, p. 66) 'All is not Gold that glisters; many things are done daily, for which People are extoll'd do the Skies, that at the same time, tho the Actions are good, would be blamed as highly, if the Principle from which they acted, and the Motive that first induc'd them, were thoroughly known.'

The work is in some respects not only dialogue and essay, but fiction. The two speakers are fairly well characterized. Of some interest, perhaps, in relation to the history of the novel is the fact that the book contains two tales illustrating the miseries of married life, one almost eighty pages long, ably told in realistic manner. This employment of parable or story to drive home his meaning, is a favorite device of Mandeville's, although he has nowhere else used anecdotes of such length and detail. The humor is broad, sometimes coarse, but usually effective.

A / Treatise / of the / Hypochondriack / and / Hysterick / Passions, /
Vulgarly call'd the Hypo in Men and / Vapours in Women; / In which the
Symptoms, Causes, and Cure / of those Diseases are set forth after a
Method / intirely new. / The whole interspers'd, with Instructive Dis-
courses / on the / Real Art of Physick it self; / And Entertaining Remarks on
the Modern Practice / of / Physicians / and / Aopthecaries: / Very useful
to all, that have the Misfortune to stand in / need of either. In Three
Dialogues. / By B. de Mandeville, M. D. / Scire potestates herbarum,
usumque medendi / Maluit, & Mutas agitare inglorius artes. / Æneid.
Lib. XII. / London: Printed for and are to be had of the Author, / at
his House in Manchester-Court, in Channel-Row, West- / minster; and
D. Leach, in the Little-Old-Baily, and W. / Taylor at the Ship in Pater-
Noster-Row, and J. Woodward, / in Scalding-Alley, near Stocks-Market.¹⁵
1711.¹⁶

¹⁵ This edition was issued also with a somewhat different title-page, on which, after 'London,' is stated, 'Printed and Sold by Dryden Leach, in Elliot's Court, in the Little-Old-Bailey, and W. Taylor at the Ship in Pater-Noster-Row. 1711.' In this variation of the edition, the very close of the preface (p. xiv) is altered. Instead of giving his house-address, as in the other form of the edition, Mandeville refers the reader who wishes to learn where the author lives to the bookseller. He does the same in the 1715 edition.

¹⁶ It was advertised in the booksellers' quarterly lists for May; see Arber's *Term Catalogues* (1903-6), III, 674.

8°. *Collation*: title, p. [i]; blank, p. [iii]; preface, pp. iii(A2)–xiv; table of contents, pp. xv–xxiv; text, pp. 1 (B)–280; advertisement, pp. [281(*)–288]. This advertisement does not appear in all copies.

In 1715 appeared a second edition, printed by Dryden Leach. In 1730, this work appeared in a much enlarged form; the preface was altered, and 'Diseases' substituted in the title for 'Passions.'¹⁷ The same year appeared another edition by Tonson, differing only in being entitled 'The Third Edition' instead of 'The Second Edition: Corrected and Enlarged by the Author.'

This is the medical work which was such a favorite with Dr. Johnson;¹⁸ and it must be admitted that these dialogues between the hypochondriacal¹⁹ Misomedon and the Dutch physician, Philopirio (identified with the author by himself), are marked by Mandeville's customary candor and common sense. The underlying *motif* is, 'as usual, his empiricism. He attacks physicians who, like 'the speculative Willis,' conceive the practices of medicine to consist in the logical deduction of conclusions from inflexible general hypotheses;

¹⁷ A / Treatise / of the / Hypochondriack / and / Hysterick / Diseases. / In Three Dialogues. / By B. Mandeville, M. D. / Scire Potestates Herbarum usumque medendi / Maluit, & mutas agitare inglorius artes. / Æneid. Lib. xii. / The Second Edition: Corrected and / Enlarged by the Author. / London: / Printed for J. Tonson in the Strand. MDCCXXX./

8°. *Collation*: title, p. [i]; blank, p. [ii]; preface, pp. [iii](A2)–xxii(a3v); *The Contents*, pp. [xxiii(a4)–xxxii]; dialogues, pp. [1](B)–380.

¹⁸ See Hawkins, *Life of Johnson* (Dublin, 1787), p. 234, note.

¹⁹ The hypochondriac or hysteric disorders were in Mandeville's day, as in the days of Galen, looked upon as due to an excess of the 'melancholy' or 'bilious' 'humor,' one of the four 'fluids' believed to determine men's temperaments. The disproportion of this humor was thought due to a diseased condition of that portion of the viscera considered the home of the offending humor. Hypochondria, therefore, was not only a mental, but a visceral disturbance. Different physicians assigned different parts of the viscera as the seat of the humor—the spleen, gall bladder, etc. Mandeville traced the disease to the stomach, and continuing the line of speculation indicated in his youthful treatise *De Chylosi Vitiata*, coupled it with an imperfect chylication (digestion). As a specialist in hypochondria, therefore, Mandeville could be termed a nerve and stomach specialist. (It should be noted that he does not fully subscribe to the hypothesis of the humors, his analyses in many respects being more close to modern views.)

this arouses him to real moral indignation. He will no more abide such a procedure in physic than he can in ethics. The true way to learn the art of healing, he maintains, is at the bedside of one's patients. Every case is a law unto itself, and it is experience, and not ingenious theory, which will enable the doctor to deal with it. On the philosophical side, this preference for experience over theory takes the form of a depreciation of the powers of sheer reason,²⁰ and of the declaration that the hypotheses of science are merely of pragmatic value. He argues that reason alone is insufficient to guide us, and that intuition is often of much more value.

Phil . . . I saw in your Parlour a Head of *Van Dike's*, which I would swear to, is an Original: But should any body, especially one that had no skill in Painting, ask me, why I would be so positive, when it might be a Copy, that was very well done, and like it, and I was either to give him an intelligible Reason, why I knew this from any Copy that could be made, (which yet is very true,) or else to be hang'd; I must die like a Fool.

Misom. I confess I never heard better Reasons, to avoid giving any, in all my Life (ed. 1730, p. 62).

He goes so far as to call reason an 'idol'—and that in the early eighteenth century. In accordance with this attitude, he refuses (p. 163) to allow the validity of even so respected an hypothesis as that of the 'animal spirits,' though he will allow its use, as he will that of other explanations, for the value it may have in practice.

Such a physician as this is obviously not trying to impose upon his patients. And, indeed, Mandeville is so honest that he loudly publishes the great gaps in the knowledge of the medical profession, including himself. He is in every respect the opposite of the doctor in Molière who has 'changé tout cela.' His remedies are usually most simple. The final regimen which he prescribes for Misomedon rests chiefly on exercise and air.

²⁰ Compare *Fable*, I, 382: 'For we are ever pushing our Reason which way soever we feel Passion to draw it, and Self-love pleads to all human Creatures for their different Views, still furnishing every individual with Arguments to justify their Inclinations.'

It remains to note, before leaving this book, that the reader will learn from it concerning other matters besides hypochondria. Mandeville delights in exposing the tricks of doctors and apothecaries, and the current fads, and tempers his dialogues to accord with and display the characters who utter them.

Wishes / to a / Godson, / with Other / Miscellany / Poems. / By B. M. / London: / Printed for J. Baker, at the Black-Boy, in / Pater-Noster-Row: 1712.²¹ Price 6d./

8°, signed in fours. *Collation*: title, p. [1]; blank, p. [2]; text, pp. 3(A2)–38; *The Contents*, pp. [39–40].

This little book begins with the seven-page poem which gave the volume its name, *Wishes to a Godson*, in which the author outlines a career for his godson, just one year old.

May you live to be a Man,
Handsome, Sturdy, Tall, and then, . . .
May your Hose, whate'er you feel
At the Toes, stand buff at Heel
Of the handsome Female fry
May you've still variety . . .
May you never stick to one,
Or, by fondness be undone;
But have Forty at a call,
And be fit to serve them all
May you never drink on tick,
Guzzle Belch to make you sick;
Trust to Punch made out of sight,
Tho' a Priest should swear it's right
May y'in Taverns ne'er be thought,
One that's pleas'd with finding fault;
But commanding without Noise,
Kind to Men, and grave to Boys
These and Thousand Blessings more,
Than I have leisure to run o're,
Light upon my little Godson,
Th—d—re the Son of H—d—son.

Then follow four erotic poems, smoothly executed, and with something of a Prioressque touch. Next comes *A Letter to Mr. Asgil, Writ at Colchester*. John Asgill was the gentleman who was expelled from Parliament for maintaining that death

²¹ The impression of the date is blurred in the copy seen by me and may possibly be 1713.

was 'not obligatory upon Christians,' but that people could go immediately to heaven, body and all. The poem expostulates with him humorously, deducing the practical inconveniences that would result from belief in such a doctrine. Now come four bits of verse designed for 'Typhon; or the War between the Gods and Giants'—a description of morning, the speech of Bacchus, the speech of Neptune, and the encounter between Mars and Enceladus. These are, of course, remade from Scarron's *Typhon*.²² A poem, *On Honour*, from the Falstaffian point of view, is next:

In bloody Fields she [the enchantress, Honour] sits as Gay,
As other Ladies at a Play
And when [her] . . . Sweet-hearts for their Sins,
Have all the Bones broke in their Skins;
Of her Esteem the only Token
Is, t' have Certificates th'are broken:
Which in grave Lines are cut on Stone,
And in some Church or Chappel shewn
To People, that, neglecting Pray'r,
Have time to mind who's buried there.
Till some half-witted Fellow comes,
To Copy what is writ on Tombs;
And then, to their immortal Glory,
Forsooth, they're said to live in Story:
A Recompence, which to a wonder
Must please a Man that's cut asunder.
'Tis thought, the cruel-hearted Jade
Is, and will ever be a Maid;
Because none e'er lay in her Bed,
Unless they first were knock'd o' th' head.

The pamphlet concludes with a satiric Latin poem on the marriage of a sexagenarian.

Since this booklet contains verses 'design'd for the beginning of the Second Book of Typhon; or the War between the Gods and Giants,' and is, like *Typhon*, signed 'B. M. ,' it must be by the author of *Typhon*, Mandeville, for it is too much to suppose that two B. M.'s should have been translating *Typhon*, and the one have begun, after eight years, at the precise point where the other left off; and, in addition, that both should have used the same form of title for their work, although

²² Cf. Scarron, *Typhon*, Canto 2, (*Oeuvres*, ed. 1756, V, 437, 443-4, and 444-5) and Canto 3 (*Oeuvres*, V, 451).

this was neither a literal nor the only extant translation of Scarron's title.²³

The / Fable / of the / Bees: / or, / Private Vices / Publick Benefits. / Containing, / Several Discourses, to demonstrate, / That Human Frailties during the de- / generacy of Mankind, may be turn'd / to the Advantage of the Civil / Society, and made to supply / the Place of Moral Virtues. / Lux e Tenebris. / London: / Printed for J. Roberts, near the Ox- / ford Arms in Warwick Lane, 1714./

12°. *Collation*: title, p. [i]; blank, p. [ii]; preface, pp. [iii(A2)-xiv]; table of contents, pp. [xv-xxiii]; *Errata*, p. [xxiv]; *Grumbling Hive*, pp. 1(B)-20; introduction, pp. [21-2]; *Enquiry into the Origin of Moral Virtue*, pp. 23-41; *Remarks*, pp. 42-228.

²³ Quite aside from any association with *Typhon*, there are convincing indications that this work is by Mandeville. Not only is the work signed with the initials which he used on the title-page of avowed works, but it shows very strong internal evidence to prove it his—despite the fact that, except for the 'B.M.' and association with *Typhon*, Sakmann (pp. 18-19) adduces as evidence to prove the work Mandeville's little more than a general similarity in tone to acknowledged writings by Mandeville. To begin with, the poem *On Honour* is distinctly in harmony with Mandeville's creed, a creed of which he was, at the time, in England, the only really thorough-going exponent. This poem brings to mind passage on passage from the *Fable of the Bees*; for instance, 'To continue and heighten this artificial Courage [in battle] . . . those that fought well . . . must be flatter'd and solemnly commended; those that lost their Limbs rewarded, and those that were kill'd . . . artfully lamented, and to have extraordinary Encomiums bestowed upon them; for to pay Honours to the Dead, will be ever a sure Method to make Bubbles of the Living' (*Fable*, I, 233). The very expression 'Bed of Honour' is used in the *Fable*; and the phrase 'knock'd o' th' Head' appears in the *Virgin Unmask'd* (1724), p. 128, in a context analogous to that in the poem *On Honour*.

The elaborate picturing of ideal representatives of certain types of individuals, such as is done in the *Wishes to a Godson*, where an ideal man-about-town is depicted, was also a favorite device with Mandeville. Both parts of the *Fable* (e.g., I, 389 ff., and II, 50-8) are full of this, and so is the *Virgin Unmask'd* (e.g., pp. 190-2, ed. 1724), the *Treatise* (e.g., pp. xii-xvi, ed. 1730), the *Free Thoughts* (e.g., pp. 26 ff., ed. 1729), and the *Letter to Dion* (e.g., pp. 56-8). The reference to Asgill is somewhat significant because ironical mention is made of him, also, in the *Origin of Honour*, p. 35. Then, the long catalogue of wines given in Bacchus's speech offers some evidence of the authorship. We have here 'Champain,' Cahors, Pontack, Obrion, Murgou, Claret, Burgundy, Coutou, Mourin, and Vin d'aie. There is no such long list in Scarron. The translator put it in because he liked such a catalogue; and the *Fable*, I, 118 and 260, shows that Mandeville was fond of these catalogues. Indeed, he mentions four of these very wines. Latin verse, too, was used by Mandeville in the *Fable*, II, 408-9. Again, in *Wishes to a Godson*, p. 34, there is a contemptuous reference to romances. Such reference is characteristic of Mandeville (see, for example,

The first edition exists also with a different title-page, on which the motto, from 'Several Discourses' through 'Lux e Tenebris,' is omitted and a wood-cut substituted. In 1723, Edmund Parker issued a much enlarged version of this book; and the work was again expanded when Tonson published it in 1724. Tonson issued other editions in 1725, 1728, 1729 and 1732. Meanwhile Mandeville had written a companion volume to the *Fable*, which he called *The Fable of the Bees. Part II* (see below, pp. 439-40). After 1732, the two parts were published together. Tonson issued a two-volume edition under date of 1734.²⁴ W. Gray and W. Peter printed a two-volume edition at Edinburgh in 1755, and another such edition was issued there by J. Wood in 1772. The two parts appeared in one volume in 1795 at London, and again in 1806.²⁵

Fable, I, 241, *Virgin Unmask'd* (1724), p. 131, *Origin of Honour*, pp. 48 and 90-1). On p. 22, there is mention of 'Helvet-Slucce' (Hellevoetsluis), although any other port would have done equally well. This place is in Mandeville's country, the Netherlands. Then, the idea of *Wishes to a Godson* is very possibly derived from Erasmus's *Colloquies*, which Erasmus wrote for the education of his godson, little John Erasmius Froben, a book almost as ill adapted to a small boy as *Wishes to a Godson*. Now, Mandeville was much influenced by Erasmus (see my forthcoming edition of the *Fable*). Finally, there is a most remarkable and convincing parallel in connection with an unusual simile for sexual intercourse. The author of *Wishes to a Godson* writes of 'Celia' (p. 18):

What ever Snows without appear,
I'm sure there's a Vesvious [sic] near.
And yet I'm tempted with a strong desire,
To go in quest of this deep Gulph of fire;
And will whatever place it is,
Like *Pliny* venture on th' Abyss.

Now, in Mandeville's *Virgin Unmask'd* (ed. 1724, p. 112) one character asks, 'Would he have me pay for my Curiosity as *Pliny* did, and perish by the Flames, to know the Cause of them'; and the other answers, 'The Application is plain, if Matrimony be like a *Vesuvius*.'

Some of these indications of authorship are insignificant individually, but, especially when the smallness of the space in which they congregate is considered, they have a cumulative effect; and, together with such important evidence as the signature, the poem *On Honour*, and the Pliny-Vesuvius metaphor, would, even apart from association with *Typhon*, give sufficient grounds for supposing *Wishes to a Godson* to be by Mandeville.

²⁴ It was listed in the *London Magazine* for Dec. 1733 (p. 647).

²⁵ The *Fable* was partially reprinted in 1844 in F. D. Maurice's edition of William Law's *Remarks upon a Late Book, Entitled, the Fable of the Bees*, in Selby Bigge's *British Moralists* (1897), II, 348-56, and in Alden's *Readings in English Prose of the Eighteenth Century* (1911), pp. 245-54.

In 1740 there appeared a four-volume French translation attributed to J. Bertrand. This translation included both parts of the *Fable*. Another edition followed in 1750.²⁶ German versions appeared in 1761, 1817, 1818, and 1914.

The many-sided speculation of the *Fable* I have treated at length in my forthcoming edition of the work (Clarendon Press), and shall therefore here merely indicate enough of the nature of Mandeville's thought to refresh the memory of those who have read the *Fable* and to furnish enough data to the others for the understanding of my analyses of Mandeville's other works.—The thought of the book is largely a development of the paradox which he placed on the title-page—private vices, public benefits. This paradox is attained by the application of a double standard of morality. In the first place, Mandeville judges the value of things from an empiric point of view. From this standpoint he finds, with the pyrrhonists, that conceptions of right and wrong seem to have no absolutely fixed standards independent of circumstances, but to vary with different men and different ages; and for practical purposes, therefore, he offers a utilitarian standard to measure whether a thing is desirable or not. At the same time, however, he applies an opposite morality—a morality which judges the merit of an act according to whether the motive which produced it was or was not a self-regarding one, holding that, if there was the slightest taint of selfishness in the motive, then, no matter how beneficial the act, it was a vicious one. Mandeville undertakes a subtle and masterful analysis of human motives, and reaches the conclusion that, unless assisted by divine grace, complete unselfishness is impossible to men—that, traced to their roots, the most altruistic-appearing actions are really selfish. As a result, therefore, of this rigoristic and ascetic condemnation of motives tinged with selfishness, all action becomes vicious—including such action as was found to be beneficial from a utilitarian point of view, what is a benefit from the utilitarian standpoint becoming vice according to the rigoristic criticism of motives. Thus it is that Mandeville, by applying simultaneously two opposite moral standards, can maintain that private vices are public benefits.

²⁶ Goldbach's *Bernard de Mandeville's Bienenfabel*, p. 5, lists a French edition of 1760, whose existence, however, I doubt.

The question of course arises as to which of the contradictory ethical creeds which he applied at the same time is really basal in Mandeville's thought. To this I answer, with no attempt at discussion, which would be impracticable in the limits of this paper,²⁷ that the basal trend of Mandeville's thought is very strongly 'empiric'; the imposition of the rigoristic gloss is an arbitrary procedure and not of a piece with the real fabric of Mandeville's philosophy.

Free Thoughts / on / Religion, / the / Church, / and / National Happiness. / By B. M. / London: / Printed, and Sold by T. Jauncy, at / the Angel without Temple-Bar, and J. / Roberts, in Warwick-Lane. MDC-CXX. / (Price Bound 5 s.) /

8°. *Collation*: title, p. [i]; blank, p. [ii]; preface, pp. [i] (A2)-ixx; *Errata*, p. [xx]; table of contents, pp. [xxi-xxii]; text, pp. [1](B)-364; index, pp. [365-376].

In 1721, this important work was re-issued by T. Warner, the publisher of the *British Journal*; and Brotherton in 1723 republished it as 'By the Author of the Fable of the Bees.' In 1729 Brotherton sponsored another edition, an enlarged one, this time again attributed to 'B. M.' Another seems to have appeared in 1733.²⁸

Of this work there appeared more editions in foreign languages than in English. French versions (the translator was Justus van Effen)²⁹ appeared in 1722 and 1723, both published at the Hague by Vaillant Frères and N. Prevost, and in 1729 and 1738, both issued at Amsterdam by François L'Honoré. A German translation was published at Leipsic in 1726, and a Dutch version appeared in 1723 at Amsterdam.

The book opens with a preface in which is given a digest of the work. Toward the close of the preface (ed. 1729, pp. xix-xxi), Mandeville notes that he has borrowed freely from Bayle without acknowledgement; and he adds as apology, '*I thought they [the borrowings] would read better in the manner they now stand, than if I had stated them only as his opinions, which would have occasioned many breaks in the discourse. Had this been done out of vanity to compliment myself, or disregard to the honour of that great man, I would have been wise enough not to*

²⁷ Besides, I have supplied this discussion in my edition.

²⁸ Advertised in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, III, 108, as issued Feb. 1733.

²⁹ According to the French translation of the *Fable* (1740), I, viii.

have spoke of it now.' However, despite this considerable debt to Bayle, the book is essentially an original one.

The main body of the work is composed of twelve chapters, the first five of which deal with religion, the next five, with the church, and the last two, with 'Government' and 'National Happiness.'

The thought which runs through the first ten chapters on religious matters is of a piece. Real religion, says Mandeville, does not exist. We do not 'live up to the rules of christianity. To conquer our passions, and mortify our darling lusts, is, what few of us set about in earnest' (ed. 1729, p. 8). But, he continues, since true Christianity is not to be found, what passes for such is no more of divine authority than the worship of Diana, or Mahometanism, or anything else which we agree to call superstition. Indeed, Christianity as we see it exemplified (though not, of course, as it really is), has most of the traits of these superstitions. There is, then, no special virtue in a cassock or creed which endows its possessors with a venerableness or infallibility lacking to other more worldly callings or beliefs. All history proves the Christian clergy, Protestant as well as Catholic, as weak, and the Church as selfish, as any other group or organization. Christianity, as we have it, is essentially a thing of this world and liable to all the mistakes of it. Religious matters, therefore, should be judged with the same circumspection and regard for the public weal that we would apply to any other matter. It is, therefore, folly to fight and persecute about it, when such persecution will necessarily pervert that very good of the state which is the only recommendation of our religion, since there is nothing divine about it—all this, of course, on the assumption that *true* Christianity, whose decrees are above all worldly criticism, is not involved. But yet, even if it were involved, Mandeville would still maintain the same, for 'There is no characteristick to distinguish and know a true church from a false one' (p. 260). Why fight about such a confusion? Throughout his book, therefore, it is toleration which is most insisted upon.

This, however, does not mean that Mandeville minimizes the importance of the clergy, but that he measures their importance as he would that of a statesman or a lawyer, and

limits their power alike. Nor does it mean that he considers churchmen worse than other men. 'I have said nothing of the clergy,' he writes, 'but what ought to be expected from all mankind under the same circumstances and temptations' (p. 291).³⁰ This quotation really sums up the point of the book—that he insists on treating matters usually considered of other-worldly, or absolute, authority as things to be handled in the same manner as the most worldly problems.

In other words, he is as empirical here as in the *Fable of the Bees*. Mysteries, principles, universal criteria, all walk the plank under the eye of his piratical sense of fact. But, although he systematically criticises whatever pretends to a more than worldly authority, Mandeville is not an unadulterated empiricist. As in the *Fable*, it is a dual standard which he applies—condemning things good by a worldly test, because they do not accord with the dictates of a completely rigoristic morality and religion. Thus it is by means of his absolutely ascetic view of religion that he proves that no really religious people exist, for he finds no complete ascetics. And it is, therefore, his too high, ascetic expectations of religion which leave him free to treat empirically religion as he finds it actually and disappointingly embodied. His asceticism has, therefore, really played servant to his basal feeling, his empiricism.

In the chapter 'Of Government,' Mandeville invests sovereignty not in the king alone, but in the wishes of 'the three estates jointly.' He holds the opinion that the social contract with constitutional monarchs is valid only so long as they fulfil the essential condition of the contract, the welfare of the people. The chapter concludes with a demonstration of the illogicality of favoring the claims of the Pretender.

The last chapter, 'Of National Happiness,' is a typically Mandevillian plea for self-knowledge and candor, and against the folly of expecting the impossible. He preaches here the theme which he before announced (*Fable*, I, [viii-ix]) as the purpose to be accomplished by the *Fable of the Bees*,

That in the first Place the People, who continually find fault with others, by reading . . . [it], would be taught to look at home, and exam-

³⁰ Cf. *Fable*, I, 337: ' . . . real Virtue, which it is Foolish and indeed Injurious, we should more expect from the Clergy than we generally find it in the Laity.'

ining their own Consciences, be made asham'd of always railing at what they are more or less guilty of themselves; and that in the next, those who are so fond of the Ease and Comforts, and reap all the Benefits that are the Consequence of a great and flourishing Nation, would learn more patiently to submit to those Inconveniences, which no Government upon Earth can remedy, when they should see the Impossibility of enjoying any great share of the first, without partaking likewise of the latter.'

In the *Free Thoughts*, this reads (p. 399),

When we shall have carefully examin'd the state of our affairs, and so far conquer'd our prejudices as not to suffer our selves to be deluded any longer by false appearances, the prospect of happiness will be before us. To expect ministries without faults, and courts without vices, is grossly betraying our ignorance of human affairs.

An / Enquiry / into the / Causes / of the / Frequent Executions / at / Tyburn: / and / A Proposal for some Regulations con- / cerning Felons in Prison, and the good / Effects to be Expected from them. / To which is Added, / A Discourse on Transportation, and a Me- / thod to render that Punishment more Effectual. / By B. Mandeville, M. D. / Oderunt peccare Mali formidine Pœnæ. / London, / Printed: And Sold by J. Roberts in Warwick-Lane. / MDCCXXV./

8°. *Collation*: half-title, p. [i]; blank, p. [ii]; title, p. [iii]; blank, p. [iv]; preface, pp. [v(A3)-xiv]; table of contents, pp. [xv-xvii]; text, pp. [1](B)-55.

The six chapters of the little book were contributed as letters to as many issues of the *British Journal*.³¹ The first two chapters condemn the evils arising from the practices of professional thief-catchers, and the selfish and illegal connivance of those robbed, who are content if only they can recover their goods. The third chapter contains a vivid account of the scene of a public execution, and closes with the plea that the corpses of malefactors be given for dissection to the universities. The next chapter, analyzing this account, argues forcibly that the 'publick Executions. . . instead of giving Warning. . . are exemplary the wrong Way, and encourage where they should deter. The small Concern, and seeming Indolence of the Condemn'd, harden the Profligates that behold them' (pp. 36-7). 'If no Remedy can be found for these Evils, it would be better that Malefactors should be put to Death in private' (p. 36). In Chapter 5, Mandeville advises as to the treatment of the

³¹ Of Feb. 27, Mar. 6, Mar. 13, Mar. 20, Mar. 27, and Apr. 3, 1725. The communications were signed, 'Philantropos.'

For further information about these letters, see below, p. 439.

condemned. They should be held in solitary confinement; they should be allowed the privilege of reprieves only for a certain period; and they should be kept to a severe diet and an ascetic life. Thus would be avoided the specious, drunken courage with which the condemned now deceive and encourage the spectators. Instead (p. 42), 'When seated on the ignominious Cart, by his restless Posture, the Distortion of his Features, and the continual wringing of his Hands, he [the condemned] should disclose his Woe within, and the utmost depth of Sorrow: When we should hear his shrill Cries and sad Complaints interrupted with bitter Sobs and anxious Groans, and now and then, at sudden Starts, see Floods of Tears gushing from his distracted Eyes, how thoroughly would the Concurrence of so many strong Evidences convince us of the Pangs, the amazing Horror, and unspeakable Agonies of his excruciated Soul!' One such execution 'would be more serviceable . . . than a thousand of those that are now so frequent' (p. 46). The last chapter advocates that, in place of the transportation of criminals, which he considers ineffective, they be exchanged for the honest captured Englishmen now slaves in Morocco and Barbary. He adds (p. 50), as a customary whimsical touch, that 'a Barbarian would be glad to change an elderly honest Man, pretty well worn, and above Fifty, for a sturdy House-breaker of Five and twenty.'

Letter to the *British Journal*

Mandeville's contributions to the literature of criminology did not cease with the articles which he collected into the *Executions at Tyburn*. He wrote, under the same pseudonym of 'Philantropos,' one more communication on this subject (hitherto unnoted) for the *British Journal*, which ran in the issues of April 24 and May 1, 1725. In this article, he included a letter the receipt of which he had acknowledged in a footnote to his communication of March 27, 1725, which footnote he did not reprint in his *Executions at Tyburn*.

The / Fable / of the / Bees. / Part II. / By the Author of the First. /
Opinionum enim Commenta delet dies; Naturæ ju- / dicia confirmat.
Cicero de Nat. Deor. Lib. 2. / London, / Printed: And Sold by J. Roberts
in / Warwick-Lane. MDCCXXIX. /

8°. Collation: title, p. [i]; blank, p. [ii]; preface, pp. [i](A2)-xxxi(d);
Errata, p. [xxxii](dv); dialogues, pp. [1] (B)-432; index, pp. [433](Ff)-456].

Roberts published two other editions of this work—a duodecimo in 1730 and an octavo in 1733. Thereafter the book appeared only as the second half to a first half consisting of the original *Fable*.

The six dialogues which make up the body of *Part II* are ostensibly a defense of the original *Fable*, but Mandeville introduces much new matter—notably an analysis of the origin of society from a modern evolutionary point of view. As my brief outline of the first part of the *Fable* can serve also in great part for this book, I dispense with further description of its content.

An / Enquiry / into / the Origin / of / Honour, / and / The Usefulness
of / Christianity / in / War. / By the Author of the Fable of the Bees. /
London: / Printed for John Brotherton, at the / Bible in Cornhill. 1732. /
8°. *Collation*: title, p. [i]; blank, p. [ii]; preface, pp. [iii](a2)–xi; table
of contents, pp. [xii–xx]; *Errata*, p. [xx]; dialogues, pp. 1(A)–240.

It is possible that there was a second issue the same year, for, in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for July 1732 (II, 16),³² the book is noted as amongst those published that July, although it had previously been announced there (II, 591) as issued in January. An advertising campaign was also begun in the *Grub-street Journal* for July 27, and, beginning then, for eleven issues, the book is mentioned as 'This Day is published,' although it had been so advertised back in January, and for some months past had been mentioned merely in the regular list of publications for sale at Brotherton's.

The preface is, perhaps, the most interesting part of the book. In it Mandeville argues at once for the relativity and the ascetic content of virtue. An interesting disquisition on the etymology of such words as virtue and morals leads him to the conclusion that (pp. v–vi),

It will be easy to imagine, how and why, soon after Fortitude [conquest of the passion of fear of death] had been honoured with the Name of Virtue, all the other Branches of Conquest over our selves were dignify'd with the same Title. We may see in it likewise the Reason of what I have always so strenuously insisted upon, *viz.* That no Practice, no Action or good Quality, how useful or beneficial soever they may be in themselves, can ever deserve the Name of Virtue, strictly speaking, where there is not a palpable Self-denial to be seen.

³² The six pages of which p. 16 is the second are inserted between pp. 880 and 881.

He also considers two objections to his thesis that virtue is relative to the regulation of the human passions, and not a divinely eternal truth. In answer to one of these objections, he maintains that the fact that truth is eternal does not interfere with this thesis.

All Propositions, not confin'd to Time or Place, that are once true, must be always so; even in the silliest and most abject Things in the World; as for Example, It is wrong to under-roast Mutton for People who love to have their Meat well done. The Truth of this, which is the most trifling Thing I can readily think on, is as much Eternal, as that of the Sublimest Virtue. If you ask me, where this Truth was, before there was Mutton, or People to dress or eat it, I answer, in the same Place where Chastity was, before there were any Creatures that had an Appetite to procreate their Species (p. viii).

In other words, that the rules of virtue did not exist in actual fact from the beginning of time does not prevent these rules being truths, even though one admits the eternity of truth; a thing can be true without being eternal in that particular sense.

Nor, he says, answering the argument that virtue is of divine origin, have we any right to deduce anything concerning virtue from what we know of God.

For as God has not a Body . . . , so he is entirely free from Passions and Fraillties. With what Propriety then can we attribute any Thing to him that was invented, or at least signifies a Strength or Ability to conquer or govern Passions and Fraillties? . . . there is a perfect and compleat Goodness in the Divine Nature, infinitely surpassing . . . every Thing that Mortals can conceive about it.

'I recommend the fore-going . . . to the Consideration of the Advocates for the Eternity and Divine Original of Virtue' (pp. ix-x).

Thus, by the very loftiness of his conception of the divine goodness and perfection, Mandeville argues their indifference, just as in his *Free Thoughts*,³³ in the very transcendence of his ideal of religion, he finds a reason to deny religion any influence.

In the dialogues, which are between the characters who appeared in Part II of *The Fable of the Bees*, Mandeville contends that honor is a conception built, like what is usually called virtue, upon pride and shame. Pride and shame are in this book considered to be different aspects of the same passion

³³ See above, p. 437. The same is true of Mandeville's procedure in *The Fable of the Bees*.

of self-liking; Mandeville explicitly recants (p. 12) the passages in the *Fable* in which he made pride and shame separate passions. Honor, however, is more openly and elaborately selfish than what passes for virtue. Although virtue at least pretends that it is self-mortifying, the avowed purpose of honor is to intensify the joy we feel in our own merits. When we say that so-and-so is a man of honor, and his actions an honor to him, we mean that he is 'in the Right to gratify and indulge himself in the Passion of Self-liking' (p. 8). 'The most effectual Method to breed Men of Honour, is to inspire them with lofty and romantick Sentiments concerning the Excellency of their Nature, and the superlative Merit there is in being a Man of Honour. The higher you can raise a Man's Pride, the more refin'd you render his Notions of Honour' (p. 86). As a result, nothing more fitted to sway men's thoughts and actions has yet been discovered; it is more potent than virtue and religion together.

It is, however, he proceeds, quite opposed to Christianity, the doctrines of which, he argues, as in the *Fable*, condemn self-glorification and demand complete self-conquest. But this in no way interferes with the efficacy of the principle of honor, for Christianity is not really believed or practised. Indeed, the very clergy preach principles of temporal glory and international strife in absolute conflict with the Gospels. This does not, however, mean that men are hypocrites, since people often honestly think that they believe things which they do not really believe, and, besides, do not act from beliefs, but from passions.

Nevertheless, although Christianity may be disregarded for practical purposes, what is popularly known as Christianity and religion cannot. This, like everything efficacious, rests upon a passion in our nature, the fear of an invisible cause. This passion is universal, so universal and potent that it is impossible 'that the most artful Politician, or the most popular Prince, should make Atheism to be universally received among the Vulgar of any considerable State or Kingdom, tho' there were no Temples or Priests to be seen. From all which I would shew, that, on the one Hand, you can make no Multitudes believe contrary to what they feel, or what contradicts a Passion inherent in their Nature, and that, on the other, if

you humour that Passion, and allow it to be just, you may regulate it as you please' (pp. 27–28).

With this as a background, it is now easy to understand Mandeville's position as regards the 'Usefulness of Christianity in War.' Briefly, it is no use at all. If we were really Christians there would be no war. At any rate, a broken spirit, a contrite heart, and loving one's neighbor as oneself are hardly the proper prologue to battle. However, although Christianity itself is worse than useless for martial purposes, what passes for Christianity, 'the Interpretations, that are made of it by Clergymen,' is very useful indeed. From time immemorial, statesmen, no matter what their cause, have realized the need of enlisting the religious passion on their side.

No rebellion was ever so unnatural, nor Tyranny so cruel, but if there were Men who would fight for it, there were Priests who would pray for it, and loudly maintain, that it was the Cause of God. Nothing is more necessary to an Army, than to have this latter strenuously insisted upon, and skilfully inculcated to the Soldiers. No body fights heartily, who believes himself to be in the wrong, and that God is against him: Whereas a firm Persuasion of the Contrary, inspires Men with Courage and Intrepidity; it furnishes them with Arguments to justify the Malice of their Hearts, and the implacable Hatred they bear their Enemies; it confirms them in the ill opinion they have of them, and makes them confident of Victory; *si Deus pro nobis quis contra nos?* . . . Nothing is more comfortable to Men, than the Thought, that their Enemies are likewise the Enemies of God' (pp. 159–60).

But, however useful all this may be in assisting the principle of honor to make men fight, and however common, it is not Christianity as taught in the New Testament, where, Mandeville concludes with a touch of Lucianesque irony, 'it will ever remain in its Purity and Lustre.'³⁴

A / Letter / to / Dion, / Occasion'd by his Book / call'd / Alciphron, / or / The Minute Philosopher. / By the Author of the Fable of the Bees. / London: / Printed and Sold by J. Roberts in Warwick- / Lane. M.DCC. XXXII. /

8°, signed in fours. Collation: title, p. [i]; blank, p. [iii]; text, pp. 1 (A)–70.³⁵

³⁴ The main argument of the *Origin of Honour* is anticipated in Bayle's *Miscellaneous Reflections* (1708), I, 282–5, where is developed the thesis that the 'Courage inspir'd by the Gospel is not that of Murder and Violence, such as War requires' (I, 283).

³⁵ It was on sale before July 27, on which date the *Grub-street Journal* advertised it as one of the recent books sold by J. Brotherton. And it must

A German translation of most of the *Letter to Dion* was published in *Mandeville's Bienenfabel* (Munich, 1914), pp. 347-98.

The *Letter* was written in answer to George Berkeley's *Alciphron, or the Minute Philosopher*, a series of dialogues published in 1732, of which the second and part of the first were devoted to a rebuttal of the *Fable of the Bees*.

This pamphlet is one of Mandeville's most characteristic and able performances. For clarity and pleasantness of statement, it is remarkable. Mandeville begins by complaining of the great outcry that has been made against his book by people who never read it, and regrets that he is forced to reckon Dion [Berkeley] among that number. The character (Lysicles) in *Alciphron* who is supposed to represent Mandeville's thought is really such an insufferable coxcomb and rascal that the author of the *Fable* would refuse his mere acquaintance; and, therefore, must consider Dion ignorant if he is not to consider him something worse. This quietly ironic prologue serves Mandeville as an excuse to reiterate the principles of his *Fable* for the benefit of the supposedly ignorant Dion, after which he proceeds to deal with the great objection to the Mandevillian philosophy, that the man who defended the thesis, private vices, public benefits, was an advocate for all wickedness and lawlessness without bounds, a belief of much currency, despite the fact that a careful reading of the *Fable* refutes it.

It is true, says Mandeville, that I have proved the usefulness of vices ('what I call Vices are the Fashionable Ways of Living, the Manners of the Age,' p. 31) and have demonstrated their necessity to temporal greatness but, 'Tho' I have shewn the Way to the Worldly Greatness, I have, without Hesitation, preferr'd the Road that leads to Virtue' (p. 31.) Although I have shown the utility of vices, I have never gone beyond the maxim of M. Bayle, that (p. 34) '*Les utilités du vice n' empêchent pas qu'il ne soit mauvais.*' Supposing, now, that I were to be asked what ought to be done by a jockey whom

have been written after June 24, when *The Craftsman* published a communication mentioned in the *Letter to Dion*. It is advertised in the May number (issued June or later) of the *London Magazine* for 1732 (p. 105) as priced at one shilling.

age had made too heavy for his profession, and who wished to regain his riding weight. I should prescribe for the lad a regimen very bad for his health. But if, on this, I were to be accused of advocating unhealthy diet and living, it would be most unfair. I only prescribed what should be done to reduce his weight. I did not advise the reduction. On the contrary. In the same way, although I have shown the road to temporal pleasure, I have always maintained that it could never 'be worth . . . the Risque of being eternally miserable' through the loss of one's soul. 'The Moment such a Thought enters into a Man's Head, all the Poison is taken away from the Book, and every Bee has lost his Sting' (p. 22).

Mandeville has here intrenched himself behind his rigoristic rejection of what his empiricism had shown desirable. His position is, logically, a very strong one. But it is open to two great objections. In the first place, the rejection of the fruits of vice is entirely verbal. His real feeling is not that these passions and impulses which cause temporal happiness, and which he has dubbed vice, are bad; the feeling which permeates the book is that they are intensely good. The words may be the words of Ecclesiastes, but the voice and the intonation are those of Rabelais. Mandeville may say that the denial of the passions is good, but he has, obviously, no intention of following his own advice, while he says quite definitely that nobody else will; and the thorough delight that he takes in dragging to view the unascetic organization of society shows that he would much regret it if his advice *were* followed. Mandeville's plea, therefore, that he is really an apostle of asceticism and that his book will work for the spread of this doctrine, is a specious one.

In the second place, even if Mandeville were allowed to distinguish virtue from vice by making a complete asceticism the criterion, still this would be satisfactory only to those willing to accept such a criterion. And, even to these, it could not be of much practical service. Since all but a really infinitesimal proportion of human action is, according to Mandeville's observations, not in accord with completely ascetic principles, such action is, judged by these principles, completely bad. All is equally vice, and the purchase of a beautiful costume is just as vicious as the murder of a helpless child. Obviously,

the differentiation of vice from virtue according to the dictates of a complete asceticism is not of practical value.

If Mandeville is really to justify his book against the charge of having confused vice and virtue it must be according to the empiric viewpoint which he really holds and in accordance with which society is really organized. And this he does. Abandoning the ascetic touchstone, he points out that he has always said that vices should be punished as soon as they grow into crimes, that is, cease to be beneficial to society. He quotes the *Fable* to establish this. It must have been, he surmises, the paradoxical sub-title of the book, 'Private Vices, Publick Benefits,' that misled people into believing he thought no one action more reprehensible or desirable than another. But (p. 38) 'The true Reason why I made use of the Title . . . was to raise Attention. . . . This . . . is all the Meaning I had in it; and I think it must have been Stupidity to have had any other.' The reader should notice, he says (p. 36), that, in this sub-title, 'there is at least a Verb . . . wanting to make the Sense perfect.' This sense of the *Fable* is not that *all* passion and selfishness is beneficial, but that passion and selfishness *may*, by careful regulation, be made productive of social good, and are only excusable when their effects pass this utilitarian test. The real thesis of the book, therefore, is not 'All private vices *are* public benefits,' but 'Private vices *may, some of them, become* public good.' Mandeville has, therefore, adopted a utilitarian criterion, just as he does in all his works, where his superficial rigorism does not obscure matters. The veil of rigorism has blinded people to the utilitarianism by which he really solves his problems and avoids the Berkeleian criticism.

This was Mandeville's last book.

II DOUBTFUL WORKS

The / Planter's / Charity. / London: / Printed in the Year 1704. /
4°, signed in twos. *Collation*: title, p. [1]: preface, p. [2]: text, pp. 3-8.

This is a versified tract on slavery. Apparently, planters feared to allow their negro slaves Christian baptism, because of the belief that Christians could not legally be kept in slavery. The author of the *Planter's Charity* cites authority to prove that slaves are not freed by becoming Christians, and urges

planters, therefore, not to keep their bondsmen any longer in heathen darkness.

The tract has been attributed to Mandeville by Lowndes,³⁶ Allibone, the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and the *Dict. Nat. Biog.* The only definite indication of authorship, however, is the fact that its short prose preface is signed 'B. M.' There are besides some slight further indications that Mandeville may have been its author. Its subject—negro slavery—is akin to one that interested him—the captured Christians made slaves in Morocco (see *Executions at Tyburn*, pp. 48–55). To be sure, this subject also interested the 'B. M.' who wrote *A Letter from a Gentleman* (see below, p. 460, note 59), and who was not Mandeville; but the *Planter's Charity* is in content and manner more like Mandeville's work than like the *Letter from a Gentleman*. The *Planter's Charity*, like the *Executions at Tyburn*, answers the argument that Christians cannot be slaves, and, in connection with this argument, it draws the very parallel traced in the *Executions* (p. 53) between the English treatment of slaves and that accorded the Huguenots in the galleys by Louis XIV. There are also certain passages whose irony (if it be irony) is Mandevillian. Thus, the *Planter's Charity* says of a certain divine who had preached a sermon in favor of baptizing slaves: 'And as the Author by Preaching and Printing of it [the sermon], could have no other Aim, than the Eternal Welfare of these Captive Souls, so his Labour ought to be valued as a Pious Deed, and the meer Effect of Christian Charity.' The analysis, too, of the motives why planters fear to have their slaves baptized has a Mandevillian tinge:

The Estate is the Concern, tho' you would hide
Your Thoughts, and deck your Avarice and Pride
With Right and Lawfulness . . . (pp. 6–7).

However, the little poem is so commonplace that such evidence can, when added to the evidence of the signature, do no more than make it somewhat more probable than improbable that the piece is Mandeville's.

A / Sermon / Preach'd at / Colchester, / to the / Dutch Congregation. / On February 1. 170⁷/₈. / By the Reverend C. Schrevelius; being his first or / Introduction Sermon, / after his being Elected. / And Translated into English, by B.M. M.D. /

³⁶ Lowndes describes it as bound with two of Mandeville's authentic works.

4°, signed in eights. There is no title-page in the copy I saw; the above title heads a dedicatory epistle of one page. *Collation*: title and dedication, p. 1(A); text, pp. 2(Av)–31.

This is a sermon on the advantages of Christianity, in which the preacher takes occasion to pledge himself to the service of his new community. The translator apologizes (p. 1) for his translation, '*because there is a great Energy in the Artful Composition of Words, which no Languages, at least such as are known in Europe, are capable of, but the Greek and Dutch.*' That this pamphlet is a translation from the Dutch (Dr. Mandeville was born in Holland), and that it is signed not only B. M., but B. M., M. D., are the reasons for associating it with Mandeville.

The / Mischiefs/ that ought / Justly to be Apprehended / from a / Whig-Government. / London: / Printed for J. Roberts, near the Oxford-Arms / in Warwick-Lane, 1714. / (Price Six-Pence.) /

8°, signed in fours (D signatures omitted). *Collation*: title, p. [1]; blank, p. [2]; text, pp. 3(A2)–40.

This anonymous pamphlet, which is in the form of a dialogue between Tantivy, a Tory, and Loveright, a Whig, is a defence of the Whig party and policies. On the title-page of one of the copies of this work in the Bodleian Library a contemporary hand has written, 'By Dr. Mandevill,' and this is the reason—and hitherto the only reason—why the pamphlet has been connected with Mandeville. Professor Sakmann (*Bernard de Mandeville*, p. 38) maintains that it is probably not Mandeville's, arguing both that it is not in the author's manner and is on a subject quite foreign to his known interests. With the first of these reasons I disagree completely. The dialogue seems to me written in typically Mandevillian prose and illuminated by the same type of wit and logic (see, for instance, the typical use of parable, pp. 10–12), the difference between this and his known works consisting not in difference of kind, but in the fact that the present pamphlet is less able than his best, although it is a respectable work and one that could well be studied by those seeking a keen and concise summary of contemporary politics. Professor Sakmann's second argument, that Mandeville was not interested in the subject of the present pamphlet, is one easily invalidated in face of the facts that Mandeville was the protégé of the

Whig Chancellor, Earl Macclesfield,³⁷ and that he devoted some fifty pages of his *Free Thoughts* to a defense of Whig policies.³⁸

Besides the dubitable matter of literary style, there is other internal evidence that the *Mischiefs* is Mandeville's. There are close parallels of thought between this and his known works. The argument in the *Mischiefs* (p. 17) for toleration is matched by one in Mandeville's *Free Thoughts* (ed. 1729, pp. 235-6) in which the reasoning is enforced by the same consideration that the Church of England is as much a dissenting body in Scotland as is the Scotch Presbytery in England. Again, the argument in the *Mischiefs* (pp. 30-1) that the Protestants' dread of the figure of the crucifix is as absurd as the Catholics' idolatry of it is paralleled by a passage in the *Free Thoughts* (pp. 48-50) which is alike not only in reasoning but in phraseology.³⁹

Another equivalence of thought between the *Mischiefs* and a work known to be by Mandeville concerns the theory of political sovereignty. This matter revolved about the question whether or not the king was entitled to absolute obedience. Hobbes held that a king, as sovereign by an original social contract between his predecessor and the people, could by virtue of that contract claim complete obedience. Hobbes's contention was combated mainly by two methods: the first admitted that a king was a sovereign, but denied that the sovereign was independent of the will and interests of his subjects; the second admitted that a sovereign had authority independent of his subject's desires, but denied that the king was the sovereign. Locke employed the first method, arguing that public utility conditioned the power and the very

³⁷ See my forthcoming edition, introduction, chap. I.

³⁸ Mandeville, it is true, does state, 'I despise the very thoughts of a party-man' (*Free Thoughts*, ed. 1729, p. 169), but, considering the party arguments in his *Free Thoughts*, it is clear that all he can mean is that he is no bigot.

³⁹ Note the similarity of expression in these two passages from the arguments mentioned above. The *Mischiefs* has (p. 30): 'The Papists are great Idolators of the Cross they Carve it, they Paint it, they Wear it, they make Use of it in every part of their Devotion.' The *Free Thoughts* has (pp. 48-9): 'Every thing had the sign of the cross upon it, or was made in that shape; and few things were wore, or made use of, that had not the figure of it expressed, either in painting, sculpture, or embroidery.'

tenure of office of the sovereign. Mandeville used the second method. 'An unlimited obedience is due,' he says (*Free Thoughts*, p. 335), but 'the question is, to whom?' 'To the . . . power, that is invested with the absolute sovereignty of the nation,' he replied. But is this sovereignty 'lodg'd in one person, or in more than one?' By the constitution, answers Mandeville, in which the sovereignty is founded, this absolute power is lodged not in the king alone, but in the three estates, 'king, lords and commons' (pp. 336 and 352), which 'three estates . . . can never interfere with each others power, whilst the laws are held sacred by all the three equally' (p. 340). Substantially the same theory seems to underlie the passage in the *Mischiefs* (p. 29) in which the author, attempting to prove that the king has no absolute authority, states that 'King, Lords and Commons are three parts of one Body, whilst the Constitution remains they are inseparable, and so ought to be their Interest.'

My belief in Mandeville's authorship of this pamphlet is based also on evidence more objective than what has just been offered. In the *Mischiefs* are two woodcuts—one, of a vase, on the title-page, the other, of a lion, on p. 3, heading the text. These identical woodcuts—both of them—are found in the 1714 edition of the *Fable of the Bees*⁴⁰ (published by Roberts, who issued the *Mischiefs*), and in three editions of the *Free Thoughts*—the editions of 1720 (published by Roberts and Jauncy), of 1721 (published by Warner), and of 1723 (published by Brotherton). If any of these four volumes were, in addition to being issued by different publishers, printed by different printers then, of course, Mandeville must have owned the woodcuts, and the *Mischiefs* must be his.⁴¹ But even if one press printed all these books, when one considers that not one, but both woodcuts are found in Mandeville's works (and an extensive search has failed to find them elsewhere), and that they are *both* found in *two* different works by Mandeville, the odds are so against this having happened by chance that probability indicates that they were allotted to Mandeville and appeared in the *Mischiefs* only because he wrote it.

⁴⁰ Only the version of the 1714 edition without the motto about the 'degeneracy of Mankind' on the title-page has both woodcuts; the other version has only one (see above, p. 433).

⁴¹ A comparison of the three editions of the *Free Thoughts* proves them to be from the same press.

Two Letters to the *St. James's Journal*

In the *St. James's Journal* for Apr. 20, 1723 (p. 311), is a letter signed 'Your Humble Servant unknown, B. M.,' which contains a commonplace 'Essay on Description in Poetry,' and ends with a verse 'Description of a Rouz'd Lion.' In its issue of May 11, 1723 (p. 329), this paper prints another letter from the same correspondent (he mentions a recent contribution), also signed 'B. M.,' and containing an attempt to improve Dryden's translation of the very close of the *Aeneid*. 'I hope,' the letter-writer prefaces, 'none will tax me with Arrogance for presuming to believe I have done *Virgil* more right than he, for there is vast Difference betwixt translating an Author intirely, and being hurry'd in the Performance; and the chusing a small Fragment only, and having sufficient Leisure to employ all the necessary care about it.'

Besides the signature, the only reasons I find for connecting these articles with Mandeville are that he shows elsewhere a lively appreciation of the lion's 'Fabrick, his Structure, and his Rage, so justly proportion'd to one another,'⁴² and that he has often in his work evidenced great interest in verse translations and in literary criticism.

A / Modest Defence / of / Publick Stews: / or, an / Essay / upon / Whoring, / As it is now practis'd in these Kingdoms. / Nimirum propter Continentiam. Incontinentia ne- / cessaria est, incendium ut ignibus extinguitur. / Seneca. / Omne adeo genus in terris, hominumq; ferarumq; / Et genus æquoreum, pecudes, pictæq; volucres, / In furia, ignemq; ruunt. Virg. Georg. 3. / Written by a Layman. / London; / Printed by A. Moore near St. Paul's. / M.DCC.XXIV. /⁴³

8°. Collation: half-title, p. [-]; blank, p. [-]; title, p. [-]; blank, p. [-]; dedication, pp. [i](A)-xii; preface, pp. [xiii-xvii]; text, pp. 1(B)-78.

In 1725 this was reissued by A. Bussy, together with a two-page attack upon it and 'The Thirtieth Account of the Progress made in the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*. . . By the *Societies* for Promoting a *Reformation* of *Manners*,' the six pages of which were intended to substantiate the attack. In 1740 an edition was published by T. Read, attributed to 'the late Colonel Harry Mordaunt.' That same year was issued another edition, called the fourth, with the title of *The Natural*

⁴²*Fable*, II, 267-8. Cf. also *Fable*, I, 190-7.

⁴³Advertised in the *Post-Boy* for July 21-23, 1724, as 'This day is published.'

Secret History of Both Sexes: or, A Modest Defense of Publick Stews. . . . By Luke Ogle, Esq. There was also an undated edition published at Glasgow by J. Moral and Jocolo Itinerant, attributed to the fictitious Colonel Harry Mordaunt, the date of which edition the British Museum places in 1730; and there was another undated edition, also attributed to Colonel Mordaunt, published by S. Scott and T. Browne, the date of which the Library of Congress conjectures to be 1740. Read's and Scott's editions contain a one-page poem '*To the Most Valuable Good-for-nothing Female Living,*' as does the Glasgow edition; and the so-called fourth edition has added four appendices, the first, 'Some historical regulations of prostitutes,' and the last three, letters on venereal disease by William Beckett, dated 1717 to 1720.

A French version appeared in 1727, purporting, by its title-page, to be issued by Moore in London, but really published at the Hague,⁴⁴ with the title of *Venus la Populaire, ou Apologie des Maisons de Joye*. This, like the subsequent French translations, omits the preface. It adds a Latin poem by Buchanan, 'Ad Briandum Vallium Senatorem Burdegal. Pro Lena Apologia.' Other editions of the French version are said to have appeared in 1751, 1767, 1796, without date about 1800,⁴⁵ and in 1869, these issues being listed in the Brussels edition of 1881 (*avant-propos*, pp. i-ii). (I have seen only the editions of 1727, of 1796, published by Mercier, and of 1881.) J. Lemonnyer's *Bibliographie des Ouvrages Relatifs à l'Amour* (1894), III, 1315, lists also French editions of 1791 and 1863.

The work is now generally ascribed to Mandeville, in accord with the tradition which credits him with it (see Newman's *Lounger's Common-Place Book*, 3rd ed., 1805, II, 308). In Mandeville's own day it was connected with him, for the answer included in the 1725 edition says (p. 58), 'The Author seems to have aped that superlative Composition, lately publish'd

⁴⁴ According to the catalogue of the British Museum. The French version of 1881 (*avant-propos*, p. ii) says it was published in Holland.

⁴⁵ It may be of this edition that Barbier's *Dictionnaire des Ouvrages Anonymes* says, 'L'édition de Paris, chez l'auteur, 1797, in -18, a été donnée par Claude-Fr.-X. Mercier, de Compiègne.' The 1796 edition was published by Mercier, but it is not inscribed 'chez l'auteur.'

with the Title of *Private Vices, Publick Benefits*; or it may be, both these Books may come from one hand, for the same pernicious Spirit runs alike thro' each of 'em.' There has, however, been some disagreement. Halkett and Laing, and Cushing, perhaps because of the edition purporting to be by 'Luke Ogle,' attribute it to George Ogle. This, however, they did under the delusion that the book first appeared in 1740. Had they known its actual date, they would scarcely have attributed it to Ogle, who was then a boy of twenty. The book could hardly have been written by one of that age. There seems not the slightest discoverable ground for believing him the author. I shall return to this matter of authorship after outlining the contents of the book.

The text is introduced by a dedication, signed 'Phil-Porney,' to 'the Gentlemen of the Societies [for the Reformation of Manners],' and by a preface. The author argues that the sexual passion is too powerful to be overcome by mere prohibitions. Such arbitrary procedure would not only not stop immorality, but would bring about more subtle and dangerous evils. Instead of prostitutes disappearing, the result would be that women now honest would be debauched; perverse vice would flourish; and dishonesty and hypocrisy be brought about through the inevitable breakdown of unenforcible laws. But yet the present conditions, he adds, are very unsatisfactory. Whoring, while not to be abolished, needs to be controlled. Such control would be exerted by the licensing and proper supervision of public stews. The author submits a plan for such houses. Once public stews were established, *then*, he proceeds, one might attack the problem of private immorality with hope of success. He expatiates on the benefits to be expected from such an institution. There would be less secret vice, he argues, for one thing; young men would no longer fall victims to their inexperience; and girls, with the unromantic facts before them, would be strengthened in their honesty. Finally, he answers idealistic and religious objections. To the idealists, he admits the unpleasantness of the arrangement which he proposes, and the unsavoriness of the hard facts upon which it rests. But, he adds, the facts are what they are irrespective of how we like them. We cannot abolish them, but must adapt ourselves to them. It is advisable,

therefore, to make the best of matters by choosing the less obnoxious of our alternatives, which means the adoption of public stews.

He next considers the objection of the religious people that, even if public stews were beneficial, yet they would be sinful, since one 'may not commit Evil that Good may come of it.' To this, he answers (p. 68)⁴⁶ that, 'if a Publick Act, taking in all its Consequences, really produces a greater Quantity of Good, it must, and ought to be term'd a good Act.' In a similar manner, he answers another version of this objection,

That altho' the Welfare and Happiness of the Community is, or ought to be, the only End of all Law and Government, yet since our spiritual Welfare is the *summum bonum* which all Christians should aim at, no Christian Government ought to authorize the Commission of the least known Sin, tho' for the greatest temporal Advantage.

To this Objection, I answer, That it is universally allow'd as one of the greatest Perfections of the Christian Religion, that its Precepts are calculated to promote the Happiness of Mankind in this World as well as the next . . . And, therefore, we may with Confidence affirm, that no sinful Laws can be beneficial, and *vice versa*, that no beneficial Laws can be sinful (p. 69).

Both the content and style of this book are typical of Mandeville. The argument is simply an elaboration of Remark H of the *Fable of the Bees*.⁴⁷ Even the details of the argument have almost exact parallels in the *Fable*. Thus, the unusual argument that infanticide is often due not to the greater baseness but to the superior virtue of the mother (*Fable*, I, 67-8) is matched by an equivalent passage in the *Modest Defence*, p. 26. The stews in Italy and Holland are used to prove contentions in the *Modest Defence* (p. 74) just as in the *Fable* (I, 95-9). Even the position which Mandeville takes about duelling in the *Fable* (I, 242-4) and the *Origin of Honour* (pp. 63-8) is suggested in the *Modest Defence* (p. 38).

Not only the content, but the style of the work is typical of Mandeville. Every one of his traits is in evidence. There

⁴⁶ References are to the first edition.

⁴⁷ Sakmann (*Bernard de Mandeville*, p. 34) mentions this fact, together with the Mandevillian quality of the style and the ascription of the piece to Mandeville by the *Lounger's Common-Place Book* (see above, p. 452), as making it very probable that Mandeville wrote the *Modest Defence*. Sakmann, however, pushes his analysis no further.

is the same fondness for making his point by use of an apt allegory or elaborate simile.⁴⁸ There are the same occasional medical details, betraying the physician.⁴⁹ There is the same extensive use of various kinds of prefatory matter to introduce the main text. But, above all, there is the same penetrating wit and humor, the same keen, paradoxical good sense and fluent reasoning, and the same injection into the most serious passage of a cynical or brutal jest, while remaining serious in the argument all the while. To those who are for suppressing vice merely by harshness to prostitutes, the author says (pp. x-xi), 'It is very possible, indeed, that leaving a poor Girl Penny-less, may put her in a Way of living Honestly, tho' the want of Money was the only Reason of her living otherwise; and the Stripping of her Naked, may, for ought I know, contribute to Her Modesty, and put Her in a State of Innocence.' This has the true ring. Then there is such a typical thing as the whimsical climax of the passage in which, to show the inexorable force of sexual passion, he has instanced the philosophers who succumbed to it, noting among others the case of Socrates who 'confess'd that, in his old Age, he felt a strange tickling all over him for five Days, only by a Girl's touching his Shoulder' (p. iv). 'Or,' the author concludes (p. ix), 'is an *Officer* of the Army less Ticklish in the Shoulder than *Socrates*?' We get, also, the same insight into character, with especial reference to those traits usually kept out of sight. 'They [those who have become prostitutes],' the author writes (pp. 16-17), 'are utterly abandon'd by their Parents, and thereby reduc'd to the last Degree of Shifting-Poverty; if their Lewdness cannot supply their Wants, they must have Recourse to Methods more criminal, such as *Lying, Cheating, open Theft, &c.* Not that these are the necessary Concomitants of Lewdness, or have the least Relation to it, as all *lewd Men of Honour* can testify; but the Treatment such Women meet with in the World, is the Occasion of it.' All this is typical Mandeville, even to the rhythm of the sentences.

There is, however, one aspect of this pamphlet which must give some pause to careful students of Mandeville's thought.

⁴⁸ Compare, for example, *Modest Defence*, pp. xi-xii with *Fable*, I, ix-xi and 262-6, and *Letter to Dion*, pp. 34-5.

⁴⁹ For example, on pp. 40-41 of the *Modest Defence*.

In this book, the author maintains a consistently utilitarian position, arguing that nothing really beneficial can be contrary either to morality or Christianity. Mandeville, however, while directing the main current of his thought, and all his feeling, in accord with such a philosophy, nevertheless consistently gives his reasoning a paradoxical twist by maintaining that morals and religion are necessarily anti-utilitarian. However, this paradoxical turn given his thought is, as I noted before (pp. 435),⁵⁰ entirely superficial. His basic trend is as utilitarian as any passage in the *Modest Defence*. Mandeville may say that morality and religion demand unadulterated self-mortification, but he would do all in his power to prevent them gaining their demands. There is a real reason why he would have stated his position differently in the *Modest Defence* from in the *Fable*. In the *Modest Defence* the author is considering a *practical* matter. He is arguing in favor of a definite program, and not simply theorizing. Therefore, had he added to his argument the tag that, however desirable he made his program, it was nevertheless wicked—as Mandeville does in the *Fable*—he would have had no chance of gaining his point. Such a man, therefore, though he might employ this paradox in a non-propagandistic work such as the *Fable*, where it would be ineffectual to contradict his real desires, would never use it in a book like the *Modest Defence* where it *would* negate them. This is perhaps the explanation of what in the *Modest Defence* might, at first, seem contradictory to Mandeville's method of thought, but is really latent in this thought, where keen observers, from Coleridge to Leslie Stephen, have always felt it.⁵¹

However, even if it were difficult to reconcile this difference with Mandeville's main current of thought—which it is not—there would still be a convincing array of evidence in favor of his authorship. The extraordinary parallels in the argument, the identity of style, the tradition ascribing the book to him, and the absence of anyone else who could be thought to have written it, make me positive that the book is by Mandeville.

⁵⁰ I have considered this aspect of his thought at length in my forthcoming edition of the *Fable*.

⁵¹ And as a matter of fact Mandeville himself at times adopted in the *Fable* the same unqualifiedly utilitarian attitude taken in the *Modest Defence*. Cf. I, 274, II, 196, 333, and 335.

Remarks / Upon two late / Presentments / of the / Grand-Jury / of the / County of Middlesex: / Wherein are shewn, / The Folly and Injustice of Mens / persecuting one another for Difference of / Opinion in Matters of Religion: And / the ill Consequences wherewith that Practice / must affect any State in which it is / encouraged. / By John Wickliffe. / Sua si Bona nôrint! / London: / Printed for A. Moore, near St. Paul's. / M.DCC.XXIX. / (Price Six-pence.) /

8°, signed in fours. *Collation*: title, p. [i]; blank, p. [ii]; dedication, p. iii (A2); blank, p. [iv] (A2v); preface, pp. v–viii; text of the presentments, pp. 1(B)–6; *Remarks*, pp. 7–28.

It was reprinted as by an 'Author Unknown' in *Another Cordial for Low-Spirits: by Mr. Gordon and Others* (1751)—which formed Vol. II of *A Cordial for Low-Spirits: being . . . Tracts by . . . Thomas Gordon, Esq.; the Second Edition* (1751).

This book, never before, so far as I am aware, connected with Mandeville,⁵² consists of a dedication, a preface, the reprint of two presentments by the Grand-Jury,⁵³ and six letters. Of the last, the author writes (p. v), '*These Letters were first intended to have been inserted distinctly one in of the Weekly News-Papers. But I have chose rather, without altering their Form, to give them to the Reader at one view.*' 'I do not,' says the author, (p. vi), '*write in behalf of Infidelity; but, I own, I contend for a Liberty for other Men to write in behalf of it, if they think fit.*' Then follows a series of trenchant arguments for complete tolerance, cleverly put. The author maintains (p. 11) that he has never read either *The Fable of the Bees* or the letters of 'Cato' which were presented along with it, but it is amusing to note that, in the next letter (p. 14), he shows knowledge of the contents of Cato's letters.

The fact that, out of all the presentments which the author of this pamphlet could have selected as horrible examples to illustrate his arguments against tolerance, he should have chosen just the two condemning *The Fable of the Bees* made me suspect that Mandeville might be the author, and a reading of the arguments strengthened this suspicion. They are in perfect accord with those offered for toleration in Mandeville's *Free*

⁵² The British Museum catalogue attributes this work to Henry Hatsell, apparently on the authority of a note by an eighteenth-century hand in a copy in the Library that the pamphlet was 'by Henry Hatsell Esq.'

⁵³ The first presentment was of the *Fable of the Bees* and 'Cato's Letters.' It is reprinted in *Fable*, I, 443–6. The second, dated Nov. 28, 1728, was of the *Fable* and one of Woolston's Discourses on the miracles.

Thoughts, and the handling has much of his logic and vivacity. Arguing that an attempt to force perfect conformity in religious matters would mean that, eventually, there could, if the attempt were achieved, be only one man left alive, he adds (p. v), '*Tho' even he, if he would do justice to his Principles, the next time he differs from himself, i.e. from his former Opinion, in any matter of Religion, ought to shoot himself thro' the head.*' In another passage (p. 15), he writes, 'You may cast vile and unjust Reflections upon the Physicians, Lawyers, or Merchants as long as you will; but if you once come to touch the Clergy, Religion is at stake: Whereas the truth is, Religion has nothing to do with the Characters of the Clergy.' This is a sentiment typical of Mandeville; as witness the last paragraph of his *Origin of Honour*. Equally typical is the statement (p. 16) that 'The Welfare of Religion, and the State, are so far from being closely united, that supposing the Religion to be chang'd, no imaginable Reason can be given why the State should not continue in the same Strength and Vigour.'⁶⁴

I shall cite one more passage equally pertinent to Mandeville's position and manner. In this passage he is refuting the Grand-Jury's statement that the Arian heresy 'was never introduced into any Nation, but the Vengeance of Heaven pursued it.'

It is possible [he writes (pp. 13-14)] these Gentlemen . . . are so well read in Ecclesiastical History, as to be able to state *Arius's* Doctrine, and confute it; which if they could, would be a much better way of driving it out of the World, than by complaining of it to the Judges, who, I believe, never met with any account of it in *Plowden*, or in my Lord *Coke's* Writings. . . . But it is shocking to hear them cry out that the *Arian* Heresy was never introduced into any Nation, but the Vengeance of Heaven pursued it. . . . Are then all the unhappy Events of War, or Miseries of Poverty, so many certain Marks of God's Anger? . . . Or suppose the Vengeance of God to have fallen upon an *Arian* Nation, was it certainly upon the account of that Heresy? Are they sure that was the Crime which drew down God's Anger? Were there no Murders, Adulteries, Ferjuries, or Persecutions in those times? Or were there any Marks in the Vengeance inflicted, whereby

⁶⁴ Cf. *Fable*, II, 243: 'We know by Experience, that Empires, States, and Kingdoms, may excell in Arts and Sciences, Politeness, and all worldly Wisdom, and at the same time be Slaves to the grossest Idolatry, and submit to all the Inconsistencies of a false Religion.' Cf., also *Fable*, I, 35-6, II, 155, and II, 249. Also *Letter to Dion*, pp. 56-7 and 62, and *Free Thoughts* (1729), pp. 10 and 17.

to distinguish the Cause for which it was sent? If not, why do these presumptuous Men take upon them to say for what cause God Almighty thought fit to chastise a People? As if they were Privy-Counsellors to God, and had assisted at the going forth of the Decree.

The *Fable* contains more than one such argument in answer to those people who urged the danger of Providential punishment as an objection against Mandeville's contention of the usefulness of vice,⁵⁵ and a close parallel to the mode of expression is to be found in Erasmus's *Praise of Folly*,⁵⁶ which much influenced Mandeville.⁵⁷

Some other details point to Mandeville as the author of this pamphlet. The unpleasant way in which the writer refers to Woolston (p. viii, note), who was presented along with Mandeville, is one such detail. It is a habit with Mandeville, in self-defense, to vilify his fellow free-thinkers. The 'infamous Vanini,' and 'that silly piece of Blasphemy call'd *Spaccio della Bestia trionfante*,' he says in the *Fable of the Bees*, I, 238. And, after a humorous piece of skepticism, or a broadminded plea for tolerance, he will earnestly insist that no profane wit be tolerated. It is worthy of notice, also, that, while the author of the *Remarks* condemns Woolston's work, he offers no such deprecation of the *Fable*, although this book enjoyed no more sanctified a reputation than Woolston's. Again, the quotation *Homo sum, humanum nihil à me alienum puto*, used in this pamphlet (p. 12), is also used by Mandeville in his *Treatise* (1730), p. 321. Then, the inclusion of matter attacking his own work is a device of Mandeville's, as witness the *Fable*. Further, in the preface to Part II of the *Fable*, dated Oct. 20, 1728, Mandeville mentions having '*wrote, and hwd by me near two Years, a Defence of the Fable of the Bees.*'⁵⁸ Now, according to its own statement

⁵⁵ See, for instance, *Fable* I, 117, I, 127, and II, 206. Also *Free Thoughts* (1729), p. 247.

⁵⁶ Erasmus in *Praise of Folly* (1870), p. 119.

⁵⁷ See my forthcoming edition.

⁵⁸ See *Fable*, II, iii-iv. Mandeville, it is true, also states (*Letter to Dion*, p. 30), 'I have not hitherto thought fit to take Notice of any [attacks on the *Fable of the Bees*],' but his assertion may well be discounted in view of the fact that he incorporated a defense of the *Fable* at the close of the first part of the *Fable*, that he acknowledged (see above) an unpublished consideration of the attacks upon his book, and that the anonymity of the *Remarks* indicates, besides, a desire to avoid responsibility for it which might easily have led to deliberate mystification.

(pp. 12 and 16), the earlier portion of the *Remarks* relates only to the first presentment, and therefore, could easily have been written two years before 1728. Thus, the *Remarks* could very well include the defense referred to by Mandeville. Finally, the publisher of the book was A. Moore, who had recently issued a pseudonymous work (the *Modest Defense*) for Mandeville.

The combination of internal evidence noted on the last few pages with the fact, already mentioned, that the author selected for onslaught only the two presentments attacking the *Fable*, establishes some degree of probability that the book is Mandeville's.

III

WORKS ERRONEOUSLY ATTRIBUTED TO MANDEVILLE⁵⁹

In the *Diary of Mary Countess Cowper* there is this interesting entry for Feb. 1, 1716:

Mr. Horneck, who wrote *The High German Doctor* . . . told me that Sir Richard Steele had no hand in writing the *Town Talk*, which was

⁵⁹There are also a number of works of the period not by Mandeville and not ascribed to him, which, however, may come to be attributed to him in the future because they bear the initials B.M., which he so often used as a signature. I list them therefore in this note as a precaution.

Ambassades / de la / Compagnie Hollandaise / des Indes / d'Orient, / vers / l'Empereur / du Japon / avec / Une Description du Pays, des / Mœurs, Religions, Coutumes, & de / tout ce qu'il y a de plus curieux, / & de plus remarquable / parmi ces Peuples. / Première Partie. / A la Haye, / Chez Meindert Uitwerf, / Marchand Libraire proche la Cour, / M.D.C. XCVI. / [In two volumes.]

Mandeville could have had nothing to do with this translation from the Dutch of A. Montanus, although the preface of Vol. II was signed B. M., for there was an earlier edition in 1686, without the signature, when he was a boy.

A / Letter / From a / Gentleman / To the / Right Reverend Father in God, / Henry, / Lord Bishop of London, &c. / London: / Printed by J. Mayos, and are to be Sold by / J. Nutt near Stationers-Hall. 1701. /

The pamphlet is a plea that the recent agreement with the Emperor of Morocco be taken advantage of to redeem the English sailors now captives there. This was a subject Mandeville was interested in (see his *Executions at Tyburn*, pp. 50-55); and the author also cites the example of the Dutch in redeeming captives. But, on the other hand, the author says (p. 2), 'God's Providence made me many years a Witness, and sometimes a partaker too of their extream Sufferings'; so that the attribution to Mandeville seems out of the question.

attributed to him; that it was one Dr. *Mandeville* and an Apothecary of his Acquaintance that wrote that Paper; and that some Passages were wrote on purpose to make believe it was Sir *R. Steele*.

However, there seems no good reason to doubt the generally accepted attribution to Steele.

An / Enquiry / whether / a general Practice of Virtue tends to the / Wealth or Poverty, Benefit / or Disadvantage of a People? / In which the Pleas offered by the Author of the / Fable of the Bees, or private Vices / Publick Bene- / fits, for the Usefulness of Vice and Roguery / are considered. / With some Thoughts concerning a Toleration of / Public Stews. / . . . London: / Printed for R. Wilkin at the King's Head in St. / Paul's Church-Yard. 1725. /

This is one of the ablest of all the many attacks made on Mandeville.⁶⁰ I attribute it to George Bluet.⁶¹

The / Present State / of / Poetry. / A Satyr. / Address'd to a Friend. / To which are added, / I. Advice to a Young Author. / II. An Epistle to Florio. / III. On drinking a Flask of Burgundy. / By B.M. /—Ridentem dicere verum. / Quid vetat? Hor. / London: / Printed for J. Roberts in Warwick-Lane. 1721. / Price Six Pence. /

This booklet is in a style very unlike Mandeville's. I see no reason except the B.M. and that his printer published the work to connect it with Mandeville.

⁶⁰ I have analyzed this work at length in an appendix to my forthcoming edition of the *Fable*.

⁶¹ The authorship of this book is a vexed question. A manuscript note in a copy in the Bodleian Library ascribes it to 'George Blewitt of the Inner Temple.' Halkett and Laing (apparently on the authority of a note by De Quincey), and Lord Crawford in the *Bibliotheca Lindesiana* (the book seen by Crawford was inscribed 'Ri: Venn, ex dono authoris'), do the same, as do many great libraries. On the other hand, a ms. note in a copy in the British Museum ascribes the authorship to Thomas Bluett, an ascription which the British Museum has accepted. And Thomas Birch, in his life of Mandeville in the *General Dictionary*, which was published—this particular volume—in 1738, speaks of the author as one 'Mr. Bluet,' and 'Bluet' is the name given in Masch's *Beschluss der Abhandlung von der Religion der Heiden u. der Christen* (1753), p. 104. As a matter of fact, Bluett, Bluet, and Blewitt are all forms of the same name. I have preferred Bluet, since it was used by the most contemporary authority, a very trustworthy authority in this case, for Birch was a famous scholar. The real question is not as to the surname, but as to whether the Christian name was George or Thomas. Now, there is in the British Museum a book authentically by Thomas Bluett—*Some Memoirs of the Life of Job, the Son of Solomon the High Priest of Boonda in Africa*. This work is so different from the *Enquiry* as to make it seem improbable that the same man wrote both. On the other hand, certain considerations as to De Quincey's and the Bodleian's attribution to one George Bluet confirm their authoritativeness. Both the manuscript

A / Conference / about / Whoring. / Eccles. vii. 26. / I find more bitter than Death, the Woman / whose Heart is Snares and Nets; her Hands / as Bands: Whoso pleaseth God shall escape / from her, but the Sinner shall be taken by Her. / Rom. xiii. 13. / Let us walk honestly—not in Chambering / and Wantonness. / London: / Printed and Sold by J. Downing, in Bar- / tholomew-Close near West-Smithfield, 1725./

This is in the form of a discussion of prostitution, the debaters being an alderman, his wife, and their two guests. The one guest begins by blaming women for the social evil. To this the Alderman's wife replies that the fault lies equally with the men, in that they afford such bad examples and prevent women from being accorded an education sufficient to make them more circumspect. The guest responds with a sermon directed against the evils of illicit love; and the Alderman brings the discussion to a close by giving practical advice as to how to deal with temptation.

The first ten pages, containing the guest's attack on women and their defense by the Alderman's wife, while not precisely in Mandeville's vein, yet are not very foreign to it. There are some Mandevillian turns of phrase, and lively expressions such as 'a Country-Squire, who smiles in black at his Grandfather's Death' (p. 5). The arguments of the Alderman's wife as to the position and abilities of women are also Mandevillian.

A married woman [says the Alderman's wife] is used and accounted but a better Sort of Servant (p. 8). . . . You [men] will not venture us with Letters or Language, but preclude us; lest we should top upon you *with* Learning, who can make our Part good *without* it. You say one Tongue is

note in the Bodleian's copy and De Quincey state that Bluet was a lawyer. Now, although none of the records of the Inner Temple to which I have had access mention any George Bluet or Blewitt, yet the *Enquiry* itself betrays the lawyer on almost every page. The tone and scholarship of the book render it more than likely that its author was a well-grounded scholar or learned lawyer, while the knowledge of law displayed (see, for instance, pp. 74-5), and the manner of conducting the argument, indicate the lawyer. De Quincey also notes that Bluet died aged less than thirty years. This statement, also, is very plausible, for the *Enquiry* is so able that it seems nothing short of death could have kept its author from achieving at least some reputation. The probability, then, of De Quincey's and the Bodleian's assertion as to the author's vocation and death, by indicating their general reliability, renders their further assertion that his name was George also probable. Many libraries assume this, and I have followed suit.

enough for a Woman; I say 'tis too much for a Man, unless he has good Understanding to dictate: for could he speak in twenty Languages, it would only expose him to Twenty Nations.

With this compare, for instance, *Fable*, II, 188.

But with the beginning of the long and tedious moralizing of the guest's reply, with its continual citing of Scripture, resemblance to Mandeville ceases completely. The last five-sixths of the book make it seem practically certain that it is not his work; and I have not found the slightest external evidence to connect it with him.

The / True Meaning / of the / Fable of the Bees: / in a / Letter / To the Author of a Book entitled / An Enquiry whether a gene- / ral Practice of Virtue tends to the / Wealth or Poverty, Benefit or Dis- / advantage of a People? / Shewing / That he has manifestly mistaken the True / Meaning of the Fable of the Bees, / in his Reflections on that Book. / London: / Printed for William and John Innys at the / West End of St. Paul's. / M. DCC. XXVI. /

This defense and interpretation of the *Fable*, in the form of an answer to Bluet's book, has been attributed to Mandeville by several bibliographies, and in 1757 Walch's *Bibliotheca Theologica Selecta* (I, 761) also conjectured it to be by him. It is certainly not his, however, for its argument rests upon a total misunderstanding of Mandeville's intention. The *True Meaning* begins by analyzing what Mandeville means by 'virtue' and 'vice.' 'The Essence of *Virtue* consists in *Actions beneficial to others*, the Essence of *Vice* consists in *Actions injurious to others*'—that, says the *True Meaning* (p.10), is what Mandeville means. For him to say, therefore, that vice conduces more to the public happiness than virtue would be 'to say, that what conduces most to the Publick Peace, and Real Felicity, do's not conduce most to the *Public Peace and Real Felicity*' (p. 12). The *True Meaning* refuses to believe that Mandeville could thus have contradicted himself, and offers as an explanation (p. 5) 'that when he says *private Vices are publick Benefits*, he means *private Vices are private Benefits*, or in other Words, that Vice is a Benefit to some particular sorts of People.' And, continues the *True Meaning* (p. 12), we should understand that Mandeville means more specifically by '*Private Vices are Private Benefits*, that *Vice is a Benefit to the Politician*.' The remainder of the *True Meaning*

is devoted to a detailed endeavor to show how the *Fable* is merely a satire on politicians.

The fallacy of all this, of course, lies in the *True Meaning's* complete failure to grasp what Mandeville means by virtue and vice. Mandeville does not mean by virtue something conducive to the temporal welfare of the state, and by vice something inimical to that welfare. To him virtue is action done in absolute contradiction of all the actor's natural tendencies, and vice is action which obeys in no matter how slight a degree such natural tendencies; and his statement that the public good is based on what is thus defined as vice is merely an elaboration of the observation that it is impossible to abolish the tendencies which nature has given us. Since, therefore, vice to Mandeville does not mean something contrary to public welfare but something wrong according to a completely rigoristic morality, his statement that vice is a benefit does not mean at all that the unbeneficial is beneficial, and the contradiction which the *True Meaning* is trying to explain has no existence.

Some / Remarks / on the / Minute Philosopher, / In a Letter from a Country / Clergyman to his Friend in London. / London: / Printed for J. Roberts, near the Oxford- / Arms in Warwick Lane. MDCCXXXII. / (Price One Shilling) /

This is an attack on Berkeley's attack on Mandeville and other free-thinkers (*Alciphron: or, the Minute Philosopher*). It is this fact, and the cleverness of the pamphlet, which has caused its occasional attribution to Mandeville. Mandeville, however, had that very year already published an answer to Berkeley. And, besides, the author of *Some Remarks* is not so much defending Mandeville as attacking Berkeley for having missed Mandeville's weaknesses. In referring to the latter's answer to Berkeley in the *Letter to Dion*, he says (pp. 43-4),

But at the same time, that this *wanton Author* [Mandeville] exposes the Sophistry of his Commentator, I cannot say he makes use of none in the Defence of his own Text. His Explanation of the Title of his Book is forc'd; and his Apology for that Part of it, relating to publick Stews, very lame.

He then shows how he considers that Berkeley should really have answered the *Fable*. Among his criticisms is one which shows him as misunderstanding a most important aspect of the

Fable. Vice and luxury, he maintains, though they are 'too often the Consequence of Prosperity, I cannot agree, that [they are] . . . always the Source of it' (p. 48). The author is here understanding vice and luxury in their common acceptation, in which only the harmful is vice and luxury. But Mandeville employs quite a different definition. According to him, *every* act, not only the harmful ones, is vicious and luxurious, and naturally, therefore, there can be nothing not dependent on vice, and luxurious. The author of the *Remarks* here missed an essential point in the *Fable*.

Fortunately, an internal test is not our only means of demonstrating that Mandeville did not write a work in which he showed ignorance of a fundamental aspect of his own philosophy. Horace Walpole in 'his *Catalogue of the Royal and Noble Authors of England, with Lists of their Works* (*Works*, ed. 1798, I, 450-1), ascribes *Some Remarks on the Minute Philosopher* to John, Baron Hervey, 'a clever writer, whose pamphlets,' says Walpole, 'are equal to any that ever were written.' Hervey was, indeed, perfectly able to write this pamphlet. The *Supplement to Biographia Britannica*⁶² (VII, 124) also mentions this work as 'ascribed to Lord Hervey.' J. W. Croker, in his edition of Hervey's *Memoirs* (I, xxv), adds the weight of his authority to Hervey's authorship.

Sakmann thinks (*Bernard de Mandeville*, pp. 204-5) that Mandeville may have had a hand in the production of *Some Remarks*. The similiarity in style, however, which Sakmann mentions as an argument for this is not so great as he maintains, and the similiarity in argument which he also mentions, is, as I have shown, not really present, for the author has misunderstood the *Fable*. In view, therefore, of the matter which I have noted in my last two paragraphs—data apparently unknown to Sakmann—Mandeville can hardly be considered an author of *Some Remarks*.

Zoologia / Medicinalis Hibernica: / or, a / Treatise / of / Birds, Beasts, Fishes, Reptiles, or / Insects, which are commonly known and / propagated in this Kingdom: Giving an / Account of their Medicinal Virtues and / their Names in English, Irish, and Latin. / To which is Added, / A Short

⁶² It is stated there that the substance of the article was taken from Birch's life of Mandeville in the *General Dictionary*. Birch, however, makes no mention of Hervey.

Treatise of the Diagnostic and / Prognostic Parts of Medicine: The former shew- / ing how by the Symptoms you may know a Di- / stemper; The latter giving an Account of the / Event thereof, whether it will end in Life or / Death. / By B. Mandeville, M.D. / London: / Printed for Charles Kettlewell, in the / Poultry, MDCCXLIV. / (Price 2s. 8d. ½) /

Investigation shows that Mandeville's name on the title-page has nothing to do with his authorship of the work. There are two title-pages to the book, the one above noted and one introducing *A Short Treatise of the Diagnostic and Prognostic Parts of Medicine*. On this last title-page, dated from Dublin, 1739, stands the name of 'John K'eogh, A. B. Chaplain to the Right Honourable, James, Lord Baron of Kingston.' In another copy of the *Zoologia*, both title-pages of which are dated 1739, K'eogh's name is also on the *main* title-page (given above in full) which introduces the whole book, as well as on the second title-page. In this copy his name is also annexed to the dedication, which, with the preface, is missing in the 1744 edition of the book mentioned above as having Mandeville's name on it. Both parts of the work being thus ascribed to K'eogh, and the dedication also proving his authorship, attribution to Mandeville is out of the question. The advent of his name on the title-page of the 1744 edition was possibly an attempt of the publisher to take advantage of Mandeville's great fame.

The / World Unmask'd: / or, the / Philosopher the greatest Cheat; / in / Twenty-Four Dialogues / Between Crito a Philosopher, Philo a / Lawyer, and Erastus a Merchant. / In which / True Virtue is distinguished from what usually / bears the Name or Resemblance of it: / . . . / To which is added, / The State of Souls separated from / their Bodies: / . . . / In Answer to a Treatise, entitled, / An Enquiry into Origenism. / . . . / Translated from the French. / London: / . . . / MDCCXXXVI. /

Objective proof will quickly demonstrate that Mandeville could have had nothing to do with this work—a translation of Marie Huber's *Le Monde Fou Préféré au Monde Sage*. The original of *The Sequel of the Fourteen Letters, concerning the State of Souls Separated from their Bodies, Being an Answer to . . . Mr. Professor R—*, which is one of the works translated in this book, did not appear until 1733, and probably not until late that year, for Ruchat's book, to which Huber's was an answer, appeared only in 1733; and Mandeville died in January of that year.

The / Divine Instinct, / Recommended to / Men. / Translated from
the French. / Exon: / Printed by Andrew Brice, in Northgate-street. /
MDCCLI. /

The 1781 edition of this translation of B. L. de Muralt's *L'Instinct Divin Recommendé aux Hommes* has on its title-page 'By the Author of The World unmasked.' If 'Author' here means translator, then, obviously, the work was not anglicized by Mandeville. And if the ascription refers not to the translator, but to the author of *The World Unmask'd*, then Mandeville is again out of the question. There is no reason to connect Mandeville with a work so totally opposed to his philosophy of life, and, besides, first published eighteen years after his death.⁶³

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⁶³ I suspect that the mistaken attributions to Mandeville of these two translations came about because of the similarity of the titles *The Virgin Unmask'd* and *The World Unmask'd*; and that then, since *The Divine Instinct* was inscribed, 'By the Author of the World unmasked,' this work, too, was connected with Mandeville. The confusion was possibly fostered by the fact that B. de Muralt, who is, in some bibliographies, mistakenly stated to have written both the originals, has the same initials as Mandeville.